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ANTIOCHUS and STRATONICE.

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## ANCIENT HISTORY

#### OFTHE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS.

MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,

AND
GRECIANS.

### By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

#### TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

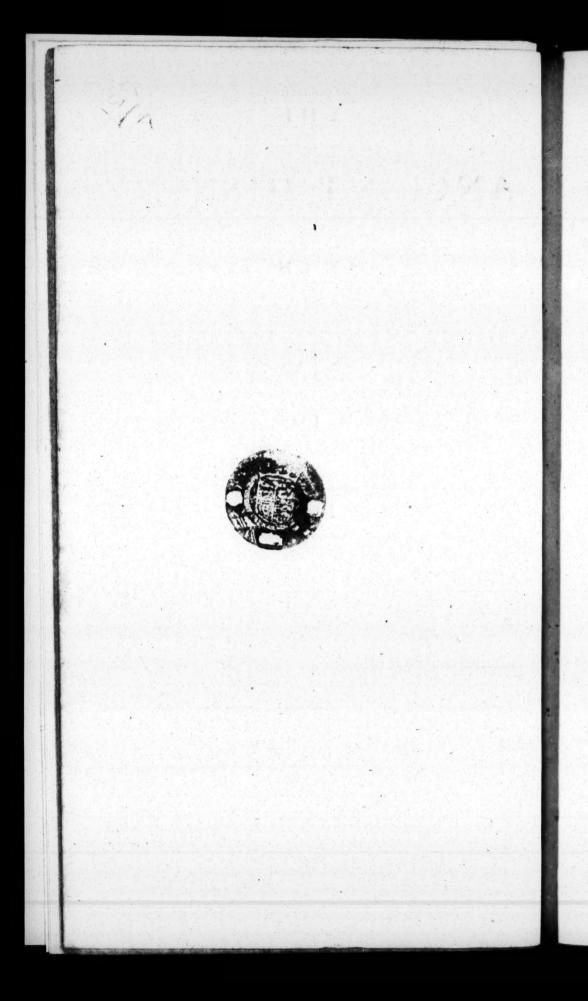
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THE

# HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

#### CHAP. I.

SECT. I. Troubles which followed the death of ALEX\_ ANDER. The partition of the provincs among the generals. ARIDÆUS elected king. PERDICCAS appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.

In relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up at first, with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almost as a god, and abandoned themselves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned throughout the camp; but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which speak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain oftentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions\*

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflexion, they began to consider, with the utmost conster-Vol. VII.

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<sup>\*</sup> Passim silentia et gemitus; nibil compositum in osentationem altius

nation, the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had fufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had What measures could be taken to keep a always lived. country of fuch vast extent in subjection? How could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all fides in that decifive moment? What expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had fo long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to confift in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very defirous of this expedient: and, indeed, their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of supporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had been written, (a) That the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder after his death, and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner to his posterity. No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, confult, and decide (b); nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing fhort of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in

(b) Non erit, non stabit, non siet. Isai.

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the fequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been affigned to different poffeffors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the fovereign mafter of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a fon by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed dispose of his dominions, in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a fource of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared, that his friends would

celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was fo superior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and submit to his authority. The cavalry were defirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. This prince had discovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned as was pretended, by fome particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had difordered his understanding. This ambitious princess being apprehenlive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be fo many obstacles to the greatness of her fon Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular establishment. a fudden revolution was working in the minds of thefe officers, and caused them to contemn the rank of private persons, and all dependency and subordination, with a VIEW

B 2

view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend, before this con-

juncture of affairs.

(c) These disputes which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days; and, if we may credit some authors, the body continued incorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers affembled at a conference; where it was unanimously concluded, that Aridæus should be king, or rather, that he should be invested with the fladow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all fuffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretenfions of all the chiefs, and covered their defigns. It was also agreed in this affembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or fixth month of her pregnancy, should have a fon, he should be affociated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the last moments of his life, had the person of the prince configned to his care as a guardian, and was conftituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought sit to annul some of his regulations, which had been destructive to the state, and had exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of these structures at sive hundred talents, which amounted to sive hundred thousand crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his sather Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt,

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<sup>(</sup>c) Q. Curt. 1. x. Juftin. 1. xiii. Diod. 1. xviiis

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esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

(d) Within a short time after these proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a son, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Arideus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were configued to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and

Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Crateris.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were affigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not affume the title of king in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In the leffer Afia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the leffer Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes King of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomeden: one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the

B 3 other (d) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 587. 583. Justin. 1. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. 1. x. c. 10.

other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus the fon of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries

by Alexander.

(e) The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander, having assembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorise the declaration in the Maccabees, That he divided his kingdom among them whilst he was living.

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but short. That being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition

alone was to subsist.

The partition concluded upon in the affembly was the fource of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history. Each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. (f) They, however, paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

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<sup>(</sup>e) Maccab. 1. i. n. 6. & 7. (f) Justin. 1. xv. c. 2.

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Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, fome diffinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined that the refolutions, which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the publick

(g) Eumenes must, however, be excepted: for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery. He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his esteem. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a fon named Hercules, had a fifter of the fame name with her own, and the king espoused her to Eumenes\*. We shall see by the event, that this wife favourite conducted himfelf in fuch a manner as justly entitled him to the favour of those two princes,

(b) I have already intimated, that Syfigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and fon, was incapable of furviving Alexander. (i) The death of this princess was soon followed by that of her two youngest daughters, Statira, the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæstion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a

even after their death; and all his fentiments and actions

will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by

birth, and yet very noble by nature.

B 4 prince (g) Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. i. (b) Q. Curt. 1. x. c. 5. (i) Plut. in Alex.

\* Arrian declares to had another suife. 1 vii p. 278

Arrian declares le bad another wife, 1. vii. p. 278.

prince would frustrate the measures which had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only con-

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fident in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the desection of the Greeks in Upper Asia, and with the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct from the other events.

SECT. II. The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Afia. The impressions occasioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The slight and death of Demosthenes.

HE Greeks (k), whom Alexander had established. in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience those delights and fatisfactions with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent defire of returning into their own country. They however durft not discover their uneafiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thousand foot, all warlike and experienced foldiers, with three thousand horse; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counfel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any fuperior.

Perdiccas, who forefaw the confequences of fuch an enterprise, at a time when, every thing was in motion,

k) A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. Diod. 1. xviii. p. 591, 592.

and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, fent Pithon to oppose them.

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The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in Upper Afia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his defign gave a very furprifing order to the Macedomans whom he fent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thouland Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquished troops furrendered, but made the prefervation of their lives and liberties the condition of submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's delign, but he was no longer mafter of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly flaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

(1) This expedition was foon fucceeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse: They breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagant exactions of a senseles and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate resection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion

(4) Plut, in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

"be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so tomorrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with

" greater fecurity."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, "Young" man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides, rising up, asked him this question: "When would you advise the "Athenians to make war?"—"As soon (replied Phocion) as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expence of a war; and when the orators no longer rob the publick."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece, to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leosthenes, against Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter

was defeated in the first battle.

(m) Demosthenes who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst all his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league.

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<sup>(</sup>m) Plut. in Demost. p. 858, Justin. 1. xxiii. c. 5.

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The Athenians were struck with admiration at a zeal fo noble and generous, and immediately pailed a decree to recall him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of oars was dispatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræeus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the fame time with an air of forrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was fensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilft he returned as it were in triumph, to his country, amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for fo illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of defire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulsion upon their inclinations.

(n) The generality of those who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the confequences with all the attention and fedateness that an enterprise of to much importance required. They were fensible also, that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the publick affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their

(n) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 594-599.

their fentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which prefented them with nothing but scenes of suture conquest

and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side; But, in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was, perhaps, the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

However that were, a confiderable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet sitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that composed the republick were left for the desence of Attica, the rest marched out with the rest of the allies

under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprised, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to solicit their assistance; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonians and six hundred horse; the frequent recruits which he had sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprising that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He slattered himself that they had begun to samiliarise themselves with subjection; and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the descendents of those who

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had fo gallantly fultained all the efforts of the East, and fought a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theffaly, and was followed by his fleet which cruifed along the fea-coafts. It confisted of one hundred and ten triremes, or gallies of three benches of oars. The Theffalians declared at first in his favour; but having afterwards changed their fentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them

with a great body of horse.

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As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he durst not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a fafe retreat into Macedonia, he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city in Theffaly, in order to wait for the fuccours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place, which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The affault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the refistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after feveral attempts, despairing to carry it by force, changed the fiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He furrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision. The city foon became fensible of the growing scarcity, and the befleged began to be feriously disposed to furrender; when Leofthenes, in a fally they made upon him, received a confiderable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was configned to Antiphilus, who was equally effeemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

(0) Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the affiltance of the Macedonians belieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes

<sup>(</sup>o) A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 322. Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some particular views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to affift Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himfelf master of Macedonia. He at the same time showed him letters from Cleopatra, the fifter of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promifed to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. Prosperity had introduced disorders into the Grecian army; feveral parties of foldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thousand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thousand five hundred, two thousand of whom were Thessalonians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, fo all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest fhare in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, loft his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inaccessible to the purfuit of the Theffalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

(p) The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes, who survived his honours but a short time. An universal joy spread through the city, sestivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an inca-

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pacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I" would (replied Phocion); but I would not, at the same time have neglected to offer the advice I gave "." He did not think that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, When shall we cease to conquer then?

Antipater was obliged to furrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leosthenes compelled him to furrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessay, and contented himself with observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the fame time, two victories, near the islands of Echinades, over Ection the admiral of the Athenian navy.

(q) Craterus, who had long been expected, arrrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented

(9) Diod. l. xviii. p. 599-602.

<sup>\*</sup> Non damnavit quod recte existimans, illud etiam sapientius, viderat, quia, quod alius maie confulerat, bene cesserat: selicius hoc

to ferve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above forty thousand foot, three thousand archers or slingers, and five thousand horse. The army of the allies was much inferior to these troops in number, and consisted of no more than twenty-five thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were deseated; they, however, lost but sew troops, and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, affembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they fhould wait the return of those troops who had retired to their own country, or propole terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately dispatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, perfuading himfelf that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his defigns by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negociation; and the moment he prefented himfelf before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and furrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being folely attentive to its feparate

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient affertors of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the publick, and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies

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s their own, and marched with the utmost expedition of their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republicks of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never existed. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

(r) Antipater improved this defertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which faw herfelf abandoned by all her allies, and confequently in no condition to defend herfelf against a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negociate a treaty of peace with him. Photion himself was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capituation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been affociated, in hopes that the appearance alone of fo celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But furely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of an harangue uttered by a philosopher, who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be filent. But he did not treat Phocion in the fame manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, "That he was disposed to contract a friendship and " alliance with the Athenians on the following con-" ditions: they should deliver up Demosthenes and " Hyperides to him; the government should be restored " to its ancient plan, by which all employments in the " state were to be conferred upon the rich; that they " should receive a garrison in the port of Munychia; "that they should defray all the expences of the war, and also a large sum, the amount of which should be " fettled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded two thousand drachmas, were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very fensible, that the rich men who enjoyed publick employments, and had

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large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace who had nothing to lose, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation; but that philosopher judged otherwise. They are very moderate for slaves, said he, but extremely severe for free men.

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by fome of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took pessession of the place during the festival of the Great Mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god lacchus in procession from the city to Eleusing. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most fensible affliction. "Alas! (said "they, when they compared the past times with those " they then faw) the gods, amidst our greatest adversities, " would formerly manifest themselves in our favour " during this facred ceremonial, by mystick visions and " audible voices, to the great aftonishment of our ene-" mies, who were terrified by them. But now, when " we are even celebrating the fame folemnities, they " cast an unpitying eye on the greatest calamities that " can happen to Greece: They behold the most facred " of all days in the year, and that which is molt " agreeable to us, polluted and diftinguished by the " most dreadful of calamities, which will even trans-" mit its name to this facred time through all fucceeding " generations."

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thousand of them excluded from employments in the state, by one of the stipulations of the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidst the contemptuous treatment

they

they had juftly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a salse idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

(s) Demetrius Phalerius was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Cassander, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politicks, and history. (t) He was in great esteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

(u) The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes, Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents: and when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he despatched a body of men with orders to seise them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused

the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

(s) Athen. 1. xii. p. 542. (t) Diog. in Laert. in Demetr. (u) Plut. in Demost. p. 859, 860.

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The fame Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria. was become a supplicant in the temple of Neptune, he failed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian foldiers: after which he spared no pains to perfuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater. affuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promife; and was fensible that venal fouls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to fincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have fatiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poston, which he always carried about him, and which foon produced its effect. found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domesticks who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, foon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the publick expence, from generation to generation: and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription, which was couched in two Elegiack verses: Demosshenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wissom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece. What regard is to be entertained for the judgement of a people, who are capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already faid of Demosthenes, on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimedated by any conjectures, wherein the honour and interest of his country were con-

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cerned; he firmly retained an irreconcilable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful fagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into suture events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counsels; and, if the Athenians had sollowed his counsels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

(x) He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip, and was very far from praising him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was affociated in an embassy to that great prince, were continually praising the king of Macedonia, at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. What strange commendations are these? replied Demosthenes. The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the

praise of a king.

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After he has shown, that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. "The one\*, (sayshe,) is more precise, the other more luxurant. The one crowds all his forces into a simple finaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chooses a larger field for the assault. The one always

(x) Plut. in Demost. p. 853.

\* In eloquendo est aliqua diversia. et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, tas. Densiorille, hic copiosior. Ille huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, concludit astricti is, hic latius pugnat. in hoc naturæ. Quintil. 1. x. c. I. Ille acumine semper, hic frequenter

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and wa certain laboure felf. ways endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius."

(y) I have elsewhere observed another difference between hese two great orators, which I beg leave to insert in this lace. That which characterises Demosthenes more han any other circumstance, and in which he has never een imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a sollicitude to suppress all stentation of wit: in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not o the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, from no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so amiable a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so insceptible of grace and eloquence, adds persection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was fensible of all the estimation due to the loquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force ind beauty. But as he was perfuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his aulience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was confistent with such a rigid exactness: he therefore udged it necessary to accommodate himself in some neasure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his discourse. For which reason he had some regard to the agreeable, but at the fame time, never lost fight of any important point n the cause he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the interest of his country, and was not mistaken, as to please, is one of the most tertain means of perfuading: but at the fame time he aboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

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<sup>(</sup>y) In the discourse on the eloquenes of the bar.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generofity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity, Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a private man, in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall feveral persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his dispolition; and there is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a confiderable share in the administration of the republick from that time. As for those whose recall to Athens, Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious fituations, that were not for remote as their former fettlements; and took his meafures fo effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live fequestered from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a fettlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a fet of unfortunate persons some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very defirous of diffinguishing himself by that quality, but was fensible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniencies of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation, over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on fuch perfons, as he imagined were the mol with were that fervi reaf ever exce

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most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself with removing from all authority, such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of excessive and licentious.

The conqueror, after fo glorious a campaign, fet out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. Phila with Craterus, and the folemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the fweetness and modelly that foftened her aspect, and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a fuperior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her fex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even faid, that as young as the then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princes never made use of the influence the had over her two hulbands (for after the death of Craterus she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or fifters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were to unhappy as to be calumniated, the herfelf was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were diffolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way, and were appealed by her conduct.

Vol. VII.

SECT. III. Procession at the funeral of ALEXANDER. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into possession of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate against each other. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is slain there.

(2) MUCH about this time the \*funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and august funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful, but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the procession was to pass.

As foon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axle-trees, that were inserted into sour wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, representing the muscles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had sour draught beams or poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of sour of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest

(z) A. M. 3683. Ant J. C. 321. Diod. l. xviii. p. 608-610.

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<sup>\*</sup> I could have wished it had been than I have done: but that was in my power to have explained sevenot possible for me to effect, though I ral passages of this description in a had recourse to persons of greater more ctear and intelligible manner capacity than myself.

strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionick order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with a blaze of jewels, disposed in the form of shells. The circumference was beautisted with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations were disposed into four relievoes.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid sceptre in his hand, and surrounded, on one side with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their manner. These were preceded by the King's equerries.

In the fecond were feen elephants completely harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedenians armed as in the day of battle

donians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view feveral fquadrons of horse ranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle. At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions,

that feemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a fquare form, adorned with the heads of animals\*, whose necks were encompassed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns, that glittered with the liveliest colours, and such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

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<sup>\*</sup> The Greek word τραχέλαφ@ imports a kind of bart, from wbose chin a beard hangs dewn like that of goats.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatick spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corpse. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne, the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The rays of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays

like those of lightning.

It may easily be imagined, that, in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot, laden like this, would be liable to many great inconveniencies. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axle-tree, to support the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in

arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators of this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been

equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred, would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other, for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous that the corpse should be conveyed to Æge in Macedonia, where the remains of

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its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the King of Macedonia, was determined to signalise his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the suneral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had proposed. It was, therefore, deposited first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

(a) Freinshemius, in his supplement to Livy, relates, after Leo \* the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mahommedans, as the monument, not not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

(b) Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontick fea, were allotted to Eumenes, in confequence of the partition of the feveral governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and disposses King Ariarathes of the This general refolution of fending troops fovereignty. and experienced commanders into the feveral provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgement; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own fovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to fet each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

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<sup>(</sup>a) Lib. exxxiii. (b) Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599. \* This author lived in the 15th century.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandifement, they took other measures. Eumenes, feeing himfelf thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which confifted of three hundred horse and two hundred of his domesticks well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thousand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much effeemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his councils. Eumenes was indeed a man of great folidity and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raifed twenty thousand soot and a great body of horse: but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all feditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and absolutely necessary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very furprifing manner: for the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and filver, fet fire to their feveral habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned

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doned to plunder; and the foldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

(c) Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter season. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time when he thought that marriage subfervient to his interest. But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was defirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander King of Epirus; and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, the had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas difpatched Eumenes thither, to propose his marriage to that princefs, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the fifter of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the soundation of the intended success. He, therefore, passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy go-

vernor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the C 4 Macedonians.

<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. p. 606-609.

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Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thou-fand veteran troops he intended to fend thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the fervice. The King had likewife conferred upon him at the fame time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been configned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident

in the fequel.

(d) This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reason by gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very infolent and audacious, he made it his care to affemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all forts of immunities and exemptions from imports to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court, in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated

(d) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

them to labour and fatigue by reviews and exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprised to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of six thousand

horse, capable of good service in the field.

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Perdiccas, having caused all his troops to file off the next fpring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last; and it was concluded, at the same time that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatick provinces against Antipater and Craterus: and, in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damascene and Pa-He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his defigns with the royal authority.

(e) Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already passed the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They lest nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed but he was too steady \* to be shaken by those offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to observe a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and deseated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing

(e) Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. 1. xviii. p. 610—613.

\* Quem (Perdiccam) etti infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus
refistere cogebatur, amicum non de-

Neoptolemus faved himself with three hundred horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the rest of his troops

went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to affift Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of the army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the fuccess of which is entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the master-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were defirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his defire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. optolemus had flattered him, that as foon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would lift themselves under his banners, and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, having caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a fecond time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus; and issued an order, with very fevere penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very rude; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the dishonour of Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him; till, at last, a Thracian wounded him in the slank, when he fell from his horse.

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As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who perfonally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seised each other; and their horses springing from under them, they both sell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and sought for a considerable time with the utmost sury and rage, til at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and imme-

diately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pussed his lest wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not resuse his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

Egypt, and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different fuccess. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himfelf with so much justice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers

<sup>(</sup>f) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 613-616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. v.

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of them deferted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost two thousand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of sury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, the day mutinied against him; in consequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assailable atted in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence on the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days fooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and confequently the revolution that from fucceeded it, which proved fo favourable to

Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECT. IV. The regency is transferred to ANTIPATER. EUMENES besieged by ANTIGONUS in Nora. Ferusalem besieged and taken by PTOLEMY. DEMADES put to death by CASSANDER. ANTIPATER on his deathbed nominates POLYSPERCHON for his successor in the regency. The latter recalls OLYMPIAS. ANTIGONUS becomes very powerful.

PTOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made such an artful improvement of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and sifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian state; and this decree authorised Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination

(g) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 616-619.

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to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of fustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, fo many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to difmember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquifitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and folid, or that could any way be confidered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy; he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit

his fervice, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridæus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridæus.

dæus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had sent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it

was then conferred upon Antipater.

As foon as he was invelted with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-established every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the fuccessors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and affumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, fent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his fon Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the perfon of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his deligns.

(h) Jaddus, the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with

that of Alexander's fuccessors.

(i) Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost eight thousand

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<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Joseph. Antiq. 1. xi, c. 8. (i) A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. Diod. 1. xviii, p. 618, 619.

thousand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. (k) The traitor was soon punished for his persidy, for Eumenes took him, and caused him

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(1) A conjuncture which happened foon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to seise the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the hearts of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a seint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the ranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced: for, as Pluarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its sull point of light, and render the real merit of mandind conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a reil of salse grandeur over real meanness and imperections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of its remaining troops, shut himself up with five hundred nen, who were determined to share his sate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the fronters of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a

lege of twelve months.

He was foon fensible, that nothing incommoded his arrison so much as the small space they possessed, being but up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground, whose

<sup>(</sup>k) Plut. in Eumen. p. 588-590. (1) Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. v.

whose whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms. where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercife; and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became fluggish, and incapable of fervice. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercife. he configned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horses. He suspended them, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inferted into rings fastened to the roofs of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pullies, and in fuch a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition the grooms lashed them feverely with their whips, which tormented the horses to such a degree, and forced them into such violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with fweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewife to render their limbs supple and pliant; their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the fooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are feen in the minutest particulars.

(m) The fiege, or more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

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(n) During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy seeng of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions on that side for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of those provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he fent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the fame advantages on the coasts, by which means he became absolute master of those pro-The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealoufy.

(a) After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duely sensible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken, to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. This city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themselves on the sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself,

the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judæa with great severity, for he carrried above a hundred thousand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted

(n) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 621, 622. (o) Joseph. Antiq. 1. xii. c. 1.

perfifted in the fidelity they had fworn to their governors, on this, and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose thirty thousand of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of ferving him, and appointed them to guard the

most important places in his dominions.

(p) Much about this time Antipater fell fick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly diffatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and follicit him to recall those troops: but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious, that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was feifed with a fevere illness; and his fon Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as foon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia; which, as he expressed himself, were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread, ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. foon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested; and he himself seising the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him, that he was covered with his After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with infults, he also killed him with his own hands on the dead body It was impossible that such a barbarous proseeding should not be detested; but mankind are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had had die

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<sup>(1)</sup> Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

had dictated the decree, by which Demosthenes and Hy-

perides were condemned to die.

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The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the most ancient of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was perfuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past fervices. He had a fon who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the fame time, how amiable and glorious was it to felect, on fuch an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and belt qualified to ferve the publick effectually; to extinguith the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue to much mafter of one's penetration, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a fon, and facrifice all the interest of one's own family to the publick welfare! History has tranfmitted to us an expression of the Emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. Augustus,

Augustus \* (said he) chose a successor out of his own family;

and I one from the whole empire.

Castander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that respect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they possess as hereditary, and with this flattering persuasion, that the state is of no consequence in comparison with themfelves: never examining what is requifite to the posts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to fultain them, and confidering only whether those posts are agreeable to their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He also secured to himself all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less, than to divest him of the whole.

(q) To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily espoused it with the same views, and from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and lest the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generalissimo, and an army of seventy thousand men, and thirty elephants,

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<sup>\*</sup> Augustus in domo successorem quæsivit: ego in republica. Tacit. Hist. 1. i. c. 15.

which no power in the empire was, at that time capable of relifting. It cannot, therefore, be thought furprifing, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

(r) Polysperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it adviseable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus, under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess dispatched a courier to Eumenes, to confult him on the proposal the had received; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to fee what turn affairs would take: adding, that if the determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries the thought the had received; that it would also be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others fenfible of her authority by benefactions, and not by feverity. As to all other particulars, he promifed an inviolable attachment to herfelf and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia; where upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures with relation to other parts of the

empire, as will appear by the fequel.

(s) In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and

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<sup>(</sup>r) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 626, & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. vi. (s) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 631, 632.

re-instated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the King had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into publick offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, he despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had savoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was, therefore, certain of accomplishing this scheme, as soon as those, who had been excluded from the government, should be re-instated in their ancient rights.

SECT. V. The Athenians condemn PHOCION to die. CASSANDER makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republick. His prudent administration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals against him. Olympias causes Aridaus to be slain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of Cassander. The war between him and Polysperchon. The re-establishment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death.

(t) CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had fent Nicanor thither, to fucceed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of Piræeus. Phocion, who placed too much considence in the probity and sidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a stricti ntimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

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In this conjuncture, Alexander, the fon of Polyfperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of fuccouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality to feife it into his own power, if possible, in confequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous affembly, in which Phocion was divested of his employment of general; while Demetrius Phalereus, with feveral other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to fee himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polysperchon, who fent him back to be tried by the people. affembly was immediately convoked on that occasion, from which neither flaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the established rules; notwithstanding which, Phocion, and the other prisoners, were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and, covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the flaves and strangers might be ordered to withdraw, was-immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens, for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the affembly to spare the rest. Upon this the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and fome others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the forrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way,

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lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance, as he had formerly fhown, when he quitted the affembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house with

the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more infolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, Will nobody hinder this man from acting so unworthily? When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? Yes, certainly (replied he) it is to defire, that he would never remember the injustice of the Athenians. When he had uttered these

words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was also a publick procession, and as it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it, took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen fo univerfally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of, The Good \*.

To punish + the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes, and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her fage le-

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+ Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo con- merentur, qui cum æquissima jura sensu maximas virtutes quasi gra- sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, vissima delicta punire, beneficiaque moribus suis, quam legibus uti ma-injuriis rependere? Quod cum lucrint? Val. Max. 1. v. c. 3. ubique, tum præcipue Athenis in-

\* Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus est tolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est-Quantum ergo reprehensionen gillato to the evider their Th

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gislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not fatisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and believing some particulars were still wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should contribute the least quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: these last offices were, therefore, rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally affifted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the fame fpot; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: Dear and facred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wifer than they are at prefent.

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences, denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last, it will, however, be always thought furprifing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after fuch a feries of great actions, should be capable of fuch a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at And there is fufficient foundation for the fentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer liften to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once VOL. VII.

were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuolity and caprice; ought to be confidered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind, will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit were united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most persect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was

always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterest higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opwlent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republick were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a publick man,

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he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could fometimes affume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconfiderable merit, and especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two fuch different characters in fuch a manner, that as the feverity which was necessary for the prefervation of good order, was never feen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion in others; fo the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never funk into that foftness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and policy two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Aristides, by uniting

each of those talents in himself.

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As he was persuaded, that eloquence was essential to a statesman, and especially in a republican government, he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assistant and success. He was concise, solid, sull of sorce and sense, and close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satirick style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. (u) An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions, he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was fortyfive times elected a general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that these elections always happened

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when he was abfent, without any previous follicitations on his part. His wife was fufficiently fensible how much this was for his glory, and one day when an Ionian lady of confiderable rank, who lodged in her house, showed her, with an air of oftentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone, For my part, I have no ornament but Phocion, who for these twenty years has always been elected general of the Athenians.

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and fustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a

young officer.

One of the great principles in the politicks of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wife government, and, with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was senfible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical viciflitudes of fortune.

The interest of the publick never gave way with him to any domestick views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his fon-in-law Charicles, who was furnmoned before the republick, to account for the fums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression-I have made you my fon-in-law, but only for what is honest It must indeed be acknowledged, that and honourable. men of his character feem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life: They are always flarting difficulties\*, when any affair is propoled

pis enim excusatio est, et minime de Amicit. n. 40.

\* Hæc prima lex in amicitia accipienda, cum in cæteris peccatis, sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res tum si quis contra rempublicam turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Tur- fe amici causa fecisse sateatur. Cic.

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posed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. We must always deliberate, whether what we request of such persons be just or not? Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties to ancient friendship, affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan

probity.

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One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus\*. Phocion, who had as folid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a fage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledge no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that refembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to

him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico fegne otium velaret, fed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui fola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem,

D 3 \* Ingenium illustre altioribus cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant-Civis, fenator, maritus, amicus cunctis, vitæ officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. Tacit. Hift. 1. iv.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not fenfible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the publick expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than them? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a brazen statue. were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to

acquit till after their death.

(x) Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræeus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewife of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the Kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republick, it was agreed, that those, whose income amounted to ten mine, or a thousand drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualifications for publick employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republick, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have affigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

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He governed the republick in peace; he constantly freated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildness and humanity; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Caf-This prince feemed inclinable to tyranny, but the Athenians were not fenfible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republick, was invested with a kind of sovereign power, yet instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the manof letters, his foft and perfuafive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used; that difcourfe had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally confpicuous\*; for he produced speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarife her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a person capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the fludy of the sciences.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republick, and adorned the city with noble structures; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatrest, porticoes, and new temples, and openly cenfured Pericles, for having bestowed

<sup>\*</sup> Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit-Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regenda bat quod tantam pecuniam in præcivitate princeps esset, quis facile clara ille Propylæa congecerit. Cic.
præter hunc inveniri potest? Cic. 1. 1. ii. de Offic. n. 60. ni. de leg. n. 15.

<sup>+</sup> Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendo propter Pompeium : sed doctissimi improbantut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vitupera-

bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called (y) Propylea. But in all publick feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

(z) The expence was excessive at the death of great persons, and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse which had passed into a custom, and inslicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonials of sunerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, mensam; and he appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

(a) He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young persons to testify respect for their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves, when they

were alone.

(b) The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the publick was obliged to destray the charges of his suneral. Demetrius took care of those descendants, who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistance.

(c) Such, fays Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner

we shall foon relate.

The advantageous testimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only of his extraordinary

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<sup>(</sup>y) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818. (z) Cic. de Leg. 1. ii. n. 63-66. (a) Diog. Laert. (b) Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535. (c) Ælian. 1. iii. c. 17.

traordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, is a plain resultation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who supposes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. (d) The reader may have recourse to the differtation of M. Bonamy, which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

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(e) During the 105th Olympiad Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thousand (f) citizens, ten thousand (g) strangers, and \* forty thousand (b) domesticks.

(i) We now return to Polysperchon. When he had received intelligence that Callander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he lest part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megara to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous desence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He dispatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicanor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself deseated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced

(i) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 642-646.

<sup>(</sup>d) Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres.
(e) Athen. l. vi. p. 272. (f) Αθαναιμε. (g) μετοιαμε. (b) οίχετας.

<sup>\*</sup> The words in the original are mistake, and it undoubtedly ought to superadas resocapaxova, forty my- be read resocapas, four myriads, rials, which are equal to four hun-which amount to forty thousand, dred thousand, which is an evident

in a very feafonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the vessel of Clitus, which escaped with great difficulty.

(k) Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a fecond attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect, before he formed that fiege. He accordingly configned this commiffion to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous historian of that time\*, who was authorised by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negociation with fo much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the fiege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inferted in the oath, which Eumenes was to fwear in confequence of this accommodation, that he would confider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and fwore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then defired the Macedonians who affifted at the fiege, to determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he fwore to it, and the fiege was immediately raifed.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so distatisfied with it, that he resulted to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These or-

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<sup>(</sup>k) Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

\* He compiled the history of those likewise comprehended the history of who divided the dominions of Alex- their successors.

ander among themselves, and it

ders however came too late, for as foon as Eumenes faw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five hundred men, and faved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately affembled two thousand of his veteran foldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he forefaw would foon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings, having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent dispatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia Minor; others were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the kings treasures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expence of the war. All these were accom-

panied with letters from Olympias.

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(1) Eumenes was very fensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and fince the good of the fervice itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refuling the fums which were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the foldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealoufy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he en-

<sup>(1)</sup> A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 318. Diod. 1. xviii. p. 635,:636, & 663. Plute in Eum, p. 591-593. Cor. Nep. c. vil.

deavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation, to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and confent to fuch a degradation. An ingenious fiction difengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and feldom fails of accomplishing its effect. He affured them, "That Alex-" ander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to " him in his flumber, and shown him a magnificent " tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the " monarch declared to him, that while they held their " councils in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he " himself would be always present, seated on that throne; " from whence he would iffue his orders to his captains, " and that he would conduct them in the execution of " all their defigns and enterprifes, provided they would " always address themselves to him." This discourse was fufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince: In confequence of which they immediately ordered a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called the throne of Alexander; and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his scepter and arms; that all the chiefs should refort thither every morning to offer facrifices; that their confultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedief, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raifed himself above the others; but each competitor continued 1.1.84

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continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new

events decided them in a more positive manner.

(m) As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money, he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thousand men, in the season of spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terrour among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could succeed then; so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the considence

they reposed in him.

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He advanced, with these affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had feifed with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet, which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewife have been capable of transmitting all necessary fuccours to each other. Could Eumenes have fucceeded in this defign, it would have been a decifive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Coelosyria, after which he passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Mesopotamia.

(n) During his continuance in those parts, he sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the Kings to be shown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, that they were ready

<sup>(</sup>m) Diod. 1. xviii. p. 636-638.

<sup>(</sup>n) Diod. 1, xix. p. 660, 661.

to affift those monarchs; but that, as to his own particular, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a publick enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and subjecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their names, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus must, therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from those Kings, and might be divested of them at their pleasure, and by virtue of the first order, to that effect, which would have destroyed all their ambitious pretences with a

fingle stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves, after his death, were follicitous to fecure themselves the supreme power in their feveral provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of fovereign, in order to have fufficient time to establish their usurpations under a weak government. But all these measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendant over them, with such an air of superiority, as subjected them to his orders. He issued them, indeed, in the name of the Kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and at the fame time it created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and fuperior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest fhare of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most Ready in his resolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

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Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

(0) Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Sufa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment, while he follicited all the governors of the provinces, in Upper Asia, for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the Kings, and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all allembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert, against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having purfued the very fame measures in the Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the lower, had caused Philotas to suffer death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the chief command conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him: not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever, of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either diverted of their employments all luch governors as he suspected, or reduced

<sup>(</sup>a) Diod. 1. xix. p. 662-664. Plut. in Eumen.

them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed

and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above twenty thou-fand men. With this re-enforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but still much superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Mesopotamia p; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the

next campaign.

(q) During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polysperchon had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of King for six years and sour months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort sustained the same sate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderess. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young King Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides King of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from

(p) A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317. (q) Diod. 1. xix. 659, 660.

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King, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewife maffacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the fon of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have fuffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domesticks had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lysciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourse but only from Polysperchon, who was then in Perrhæbia, a imali province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to fuccour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhoebia, where he belieged him. Olympias who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now loft all hopes of relief, was compelled to furrender at discretion.

Callander, in order to destroy her in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be flain during her regency, to accuse her in the affembly of the Macedonians, and to fue for vengeance for the The request of these cruelties fhe had committed. persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, the was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interpoled his good offices in her defence. After fentence of death had passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever she should be fo disposed. His intention was to destroy her in her passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidst their displeasure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was, therefore defirous of calling upon Providence all the odious circumstances of his own perhdy.

Olympias,

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Casfander's defign, or whether the was actuated by fentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered, with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourfe to flight, and infifted on pleading her own cause in the publick assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could be granted a Queen, or rather, that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Castander had no inclination to confent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions, he, therefore, sent two hundred foldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her: but as resolute as they were in themselves, they were incapable of supporting the air of majely which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death; and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Thus perished the famous Olympias, the Cassander. daughter, the fifter, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited fo tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impossible to see her perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in fo unworthy a manner.

(q) Cassander already behesd an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her

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(q) Diod. 1. xix. p. 695-697.

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illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in confequence of the esteem and respect they testified for the

royal family.

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There was still one obstacle more to be furmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander. the fon of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged King, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary, therefore, to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Caffander\*, emboldened by the fuccess of his former crime, was determined to commit a fecond, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to found the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they showed themselves infensible, at the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young King and his mother, would affect them as little. He, therefore, judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. In order to which, he began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a good escort, commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended, by his next step to make it evident that he claimed sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of King Philip, or Aridæus, and Queen Eurydice his wife, who had

<sup>\*</sup> Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio.

been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the usage of such mourning as was customary in folemnities of that nature, and caused the royal remains to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian Kings; affecting by these exteriors of dissembled forrow, to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction

of the young King.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Cassander to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had fustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops, to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were feen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once for powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to re-instate it in its primitive splendour; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and feveral towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, bestowed considerable fums on that occasion by voluntary contributions. which means Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponnesus, against Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which surrendered without resistance, upon which all the cities of the Messenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified

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at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviseable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

(r) As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any hefitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately flain foon after, by fome citizens of Sicyone, where he then refided, who had combined to deftroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Cratefipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the fight of this fatal accident, and as the was beloved by the foldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and ferved, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which the caused thirty of the most mutinous among them to be hung up; appealed all the troubles which had been excited by the feditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.

(s) Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the

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<sup>(</sup>r) Diod. l. xix. p. 705-708. (s) A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.

number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

(t) Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of those governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendour, and magnificence affected by them, feemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in confequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition\*, but very customary with great men, that to give fumptuous repalts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleasure and gratify sense, were part of the duties of a foldier of rank; and effimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expences, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the confideration and esteem for them imaginable.

(u) A circumstance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the foldiers were marching in quest of the enemy, Eumenes, who was feifed with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a confiderable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made fome advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rifing grounds, they halted on a fudden, and began to call for Eumenes.

(1) Diod. 1. xix. p. 669-672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

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the same time, they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hastening the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter: he then stretched out his hands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory, and defiance to their enemies, as if they desired only to see their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and caused himself to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers—Take notice (said he) of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us, and is now preparing to attack us. And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and

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Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and dispose great feasts, but that they esteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in

<sup>(</sup>x) Diod. l. xix. p. 672.

luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves, without thanks, by those ridiculous expences. I say without thanks, because nobody thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

(x) The two armies having separated without any previous engagement, encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and feveral large pools of water between them; and as they fustained great inconveniencies, because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus fent ambaffadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the fame time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors, with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable: "A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin, de-" manded her one day in marriage of her father, whole " answer was, that he esteemed this alliance a great "honour to him, and was ready to prefent his daughter " to him; but that his large nails and teeth made him apprehensive lest he should employ them a little too " rudely upon her, if the least difference should arile between them with relation to their household affairs. "The lion, who was paffionately fond of the maid, " immediately fuffered his claws to be pared off, and his " teeth to be drawn out. After which the father caught " up a strong cudgel, and soon drove away his pretended " fon-in-law. This (continued Eumenes) is the aim of Antigonus. He amuses you with mighty pro-" mifes, in order to make himself master of your " forces; but when he has accomplished that defign " he will foon make you fenfible of his teeth and claws." (y) A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes, that

(x) Diod. l. xix. p. 672. (y) Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673.

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that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at first suspected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of fubaffing numerous armies, and very commodious and fecure for the troops, by reason of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore he refolved to prevent his execution of that defign. With this view he prevailed, by fums of money, upon fome foreign foldiers, to go like deferters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the enfuing night. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was foon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention; and having ordered his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with fo much expedition, that his march refembled a pursuit. But when he faw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at least fix hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear guard of the enemy, who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top; and Eumenes, who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he discontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

(2) The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes confifted of thirty-five thousand foot, with above fix thousand horse, and a hundred and sourceen Vol. VII.

Vol. VII. E elephants.

<sup>(</sup>x) Diod. 1. xix. p. 673-678.

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elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of twentyeight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and fixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the flaughter was not very confiderable on either fide. Antigonus lost three thousand seven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horfe, and above four thousand of his men were wounded. Eumenes loft five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his fide; but as his troops, notwithstanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in confequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes fent a herald the next day, to defire leave to inter his flain: This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

(a) A very fingular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the flain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately The law of the country, which is faid to be still fubfisting, would not allow a wife to furvive her husband; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of affifting at any facrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife; but in the present instance, there were two; each of whom infifted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years; to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival, because The was then pregnant, and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired

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with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if the had fullained fome great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a folemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her last farewel, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the affistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be confidered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposite, which ought to be refigned to none but that being from whom we received it. Such a facrifice is fo far from deferving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to her hushand, that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of fuch precious victims.

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(b) During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north

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in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after

a march of twenty-five days.

(c) The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for re-assembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so

dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprised in fuch a manner, but had the precaution to dispatch, to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to fave his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as loft. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that fitutation. Antigonus was foon informed, by his advanced guard, that those fires were feen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary; for affembling his

<sup>(</sup>c) Diod. p. 684-688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c, viii-xii-

forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come

to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all affembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and refolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that feldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condefcention, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those Barbarians, and extinguishing their jealoufy, and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which occasioned it, to have been capable of appeafing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of preffing necessity, many considerable fums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them, by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the fums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to deftroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplithing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their ap-

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prehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded

their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence, should be exposed to any accusation or prejudice after his When he had thus disposed his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to purfue. It was then a thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it possibly be prudent in him to repose any confidence in those officers and generals, who had fworn his destruction? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence; where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies? For in a fituation fo desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rife up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors! This last thought, however, infused a horrour into his foul; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latelt breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-fix thousand seven hundred foot, and above six thousand horse, with sour hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-sive elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the center, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and

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he filled up the intervals between the elephants with lightarmed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his fon Demetrius, where he was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the

right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraspides, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with affurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had ferved under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation; Villains! you now fight with your fathers! They then broke in upon the infantry with irrefiftible fury: Not one of the battalions could fustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick gloom of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them but in vain; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The

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capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the foldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, inflead of employing their fwords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promifed to accomplish, they turned all their fury against

their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him, forced his fword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promifed to reftore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O foldiers," faid Eumunes, as he passed by them, "kill me yourselves, I conjure ye " in the name of all the gods! for though I perish by " the command of Antigonus, my death will however " be as much your act as if I had fallen by your fwords. " If you are unwilling to do me that office with your " own hands, permit me, at least, to discharge it by " one of mine. That shall render me the service which " you refuse me. On this condition I absolve you from " all the feverities you have reason to apprehend from " the vengeance of the gods, for the crime you are pre-" paring to perpetrate on me."

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetick addresses, which might awaken

the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left scarce a single man in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As shole who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: As you would an elephant, replied he, or a lion, which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion,

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and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domesticks to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to

furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled some tender sentiments in his savour, and combated for a while his interest. His son Demetrius also sollicited strongly in his savour; passionately desiring, in mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible sidelity for the samily of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much assaid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in

prison.

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Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truely brave without temerity; and prudent without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it, and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to the throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, spirited by a motive most capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither fincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most facred laws; Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicislitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him E 5 inlupinsupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently haphens \*, that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree; or, in other words, he was a complete master of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foresight, a wonderful fertility of invention for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures: But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and those sentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inseparable from the other

thining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and instanced their envy; a defect too frequently visible in persons of high rank. These Satrapæ, sull of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from ancient and illustrious samilies: As if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and confented to render him the utmost honours! his death having extinguished all their envy and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans!

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<sup>\*</sup> Industrize innocentizeque quafi malis artibus infensi — etiam guens. Tacit. gloria ac virtus infensos habet, jut

SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, LYSIMACHUS, SECT. VI. and CASSANDER, form a confederacy against ANTI-GONUS. Who deprives PTOMLEMY of Syria and Phanicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. DEMETRIUS, the son of ANTIGONUS, begins to make himself known in Asia Minor. He loses a first battle, and gains a second. Seleucus takes Babylon. A. treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. CASSANDER causes the young king ALEXANDER, and his mother ROXANA, to be put to death. HERCULES, another son of ALEXANDER the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother BARSINA, by POLYSPERCHON. AN-TIGONUS causes CLEOPATRA, the sister of the same ALEXANDER, to be put to death, The revolt of OPHELLUS in Libya.

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▲ NTIGONUS, concluding that he should be master of the empire of Asia for the suture, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better fecurity. He discarded all the governors he sufpected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his lift of profcriptions, but he found means to elcape the danger, and threw himfelf under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he fent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take fuch measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he E 6 enjoye l

<sup>(</sup>d) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. Diod. 1. xix. p. 689-693, &.

enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorfe; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery; he therefore was resolved

to exterminate them without hesitation.

(e) Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus fo effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lylimachus and Callander, whom he had also convinced by an express of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very fenfible that Seleucus would not fail to follicit them in measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new affurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such affurances from a perfidious man who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The answers therefore which he received, made him fufficiently fenfible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: Upon which he quitted the East, and advanced into Cilicia, with very confiderable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon He there raifed new levies, regulated feveral affairs in the provinces of Asia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

(f) His defign was to divest Ptolemy of those two provinces, and make himself master of their maritime forces, which were absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phoenicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprise the ships; for

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<sup>(</sup>e) A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Diod. l. xix. p. 698-700. (f) Ibid. p. 700-703.

Ptolemy had already fent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were foon taken, but a confiderable length of

time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre.

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However, as he was already mafter of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building veffels, and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypress-trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed feveral thousand men. In a word, with these ships, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a confiderable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with a hundred thips that Ptolemy had fent him, failed up to Tyre, in light of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that And in reality this infult had discouraged his troops, and given his allies fuch an opinion of his weaknels, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he fent for the principal allies, and affured them he would have fuch a fleet at fea that fummer, as should be superior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promife before the expiration of the

(g) But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phænicia, Cassander gained upon him by land in Asia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his fon Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phoenicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will

be much celebrated in the fequel of this history, and

shall foon point out his particular character.

(b) Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any conditions whatever; and especially after a siege which had harrassed his troops so exceedingly for sisteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its some specific the traffick of the East and West.

(i) Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be furnamed Poliorcetes\*, which fignifies taker of cities, was the fon of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleafing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect +, and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestick mein, and an air truely royal and heroick. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and associated. When he had no affairs

(b) Diod. 1. xlx. p. 703. (i)

The word is derived from wohe
exert, to befrege a city, whose ront is
whit, a city, and "exe, a fence, a
trench, a bulwark.

(i) Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 880.

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to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuosity inseparable from his feasts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprise to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind: nothing but his patience and assiduity in satigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which diffinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was fincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son, that was truely paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the fovereign and the father; and this created an union and confidence between them entirely free from all fear and fuspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chase, advanced into the great hall, where he faluted his tather with a kifs, and then feated himself at his side, with darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, but he ordered them to be introduced a fecond time; You may likewife inform your masters (faid he) of the manner in which my son and I live together. Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his fon approach him with arms\*, and that this good intelligence, that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him with the most fensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

Antigonus

<sup>\*</sup> Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they tunted.

(k) Antigonus having passed into Asia, soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigoroully, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it, by demanding fuccours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties were confidered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing. unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to those as so many circumstances effential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government, and were never fenfible that fuch proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the fame paths which they themselves had already marked out. By fuch contagious examples, a whole age is foon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all fentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common, no longer appears thameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining considerable advantages over

him in another quarter.

(1) He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus, and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, King of Pathos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by

(k) Diod. l. xix. p. 10. (1) Ibid. 1. xx. p. 761.

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a voluntary death. The unhappy prince confented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the Queen Axithea, and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate King. Queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they flew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became mafter of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand more made prisoners: he likewife loft his tents, his treafure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia, on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine and Cœlolyria to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he defired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also fent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domesticks, without any ransom, and caused

it to be declared to him, That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory; and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with fo obliging an instance of generofity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for fo great a benefaction, but to furnish him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy fent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt, to ferve him in his fleet, and then purfued his conquelts. All the coasts of Phoenicia submitted to him except the city of Tyre; upon which he fent a fecret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravelt officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to befiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an infulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrifon and inhabitants compelled him to furrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the infolence with which he had treated him; but he was deceived again. The King of Egypt, instead of making any reprifals upon an officer who had infulted him with fo much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him when he was introduced to falute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his first enterprise, might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and viciflitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exerciting his foldiers.

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Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle, without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, Ptolemy has defeated boys, but he shall soon have men to deal with; and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his forces against Ptolemy.

(m) Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully perfunded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took feven thousand of his men priloners, even feised him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him lefs than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himfelf with respect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately fent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent prefents, and all the baggage he had There is certainly fomething very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting

(n) Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thousand foot, and three hundred horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort

<sup>(</sup>n) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. xix. p. 729. (n) Ibid. p. 726—728.

to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrifon join his troops, partly by confent, and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province; whilst the feverity of Antigonus was univerfally detefted. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the castle; but as Seleucus was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress, and there found his children, friends, and domesticks, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly reinstated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media, under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to furprife him in a difadvantageous post, where he affaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deferts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from the apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishvanta mani his o of his affern but

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ment of his power; and he was then fensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

(0) With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous Æra of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the East, as well Pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mahommedans. The Jews called it the Æra of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian Kings, they were obliged to infert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the Æra of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to fome authors, who declare that the sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was fo strong, that he could feife that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Æra of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the fpring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

(p) Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his fon Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to fecure all the advantages that were prefented to him by that event. He croffed mount Taurus, and joined his fon, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after

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<sup>(</sup>e) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. (p) Diod. 1. xix. p. 729.

which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phænicia, Judæa, and Cælosyria, subjected a second time to the power of

Antigonus.

(q) The inhabitants of these provinces who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any constraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who fubmitted to his government, had gained their hearts for effectually, that they were more defirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewife strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very eafy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He, therefore, fettled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there sound a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants defirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that defign upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who fettled there, under his government, the fame privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians; and Ptolemy purfued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he fettled fuch a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing

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<sup>(9)</sup> Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr. Appian. l. i. & ii.

footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in

numbers.

(r) Antigonus, after he had repossessed himself of Syria and Judæa, fent Athenæus, one of his generals, against the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made feveral inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, fo called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a defert country. Athenæus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by furprise in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings; but as foon as he had affembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his fon Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat. or re-take Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

(s) Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the fuccess of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and disposses him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia Minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to oin him, after he had executed his commission in the Demetrius, in conformity to his father's diections, affembled the army at Damascus, and marched lo Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he intered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who

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<sup>(</sup>r) Diod. 1. xix. p. 730—733. (s) A. Diod. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891. (s) A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311.

had been entrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all saved themselves; some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts and the

rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of seven thousand men. The other sustained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. This prince, therefore, left Archælaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thousand horse, and sive thousand soot, to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia Minor, to re-inforce his father.

Before his departure, he caused Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even those who, till then, had espouled the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of defertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accomodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party! by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the castle they had possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This, therefore, is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his king

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(1) Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia Minor obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus, and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the fon of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Asia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is furprifing, that princes, fo well acquainted with each other, and fenfible that the facred folemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delution. should expect any success from an expedient that had been practifed so frequently in vain, and was then so much in diffgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hoftilities were renewed. The true reason was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became fo formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any fatisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only sollicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient; and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with the state of his affairs. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding, the destruction of his own measures, caused the young King and his mother Roxana, to be secretly put to death, in the castle of Amphipholis, where he had sonsined them for some years.

Vol. VII. F Polysperchon,

<sup>(1)</sup> Died. L xix. p. 739. Plut, in Demet. p. 802,

(u) Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of reentering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about feventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the fovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own affiftance for that purpose. This discourse eafily prevailed upon him to facrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, fuffered the same fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her fon had before from Caffunder, and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house lest, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder of those princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so persidious, and, at the same time, so shareful

(u) A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, & 766, 767.

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shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to selicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, pro-

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(x) Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took feveral cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, King of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

(y) In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

(z) He then failed into the Ægean sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took

Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander King of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her over to his interest. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis F 2

(x) Diod. 1. xx. p. 760. (y) Ibid. p. 766. (x) A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. Diod. p. 774. 775.

caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then foa cretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women, who had been inflyumental in her murder, to be proceeded

against. We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon the race of Alexander, and with what feverity it purfued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curfe confumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministration of his courtiers, officers, and domesticks, to render the feverity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had fuffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the deity in the execution of his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account, because he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with mankind. extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plaufible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the publick, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But so deep a stain of hypocrify as this, usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed

it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for feveral generations: but

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the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacles to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in confequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail

him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not fecure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an infurrection much about this time, gave him a just inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no finister effect. This officer had ferved first under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince. had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy introfted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When those two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was fensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his ulurpation.

Agathocles, King of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thousand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there, before the persidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was

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Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECT. VII. DEMETRIUS, the fon of ANTIGONUS, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a democracy in that city. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours rendered by the Athenians to ANTIGONUS and his son DEMETRIUS. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. ANTIGONUS and DEMETRIUS assume the title of Kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. ANTIGONUS forms an enterprise against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful.

(a) A NTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a A design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of flavery by Caffander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon: These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually foothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been fo frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Perfians, that had always fucceeded; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner; than by opening the scene with the figual of democratick

(a) A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. Plut in Demetr. p. 892-894.

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liberty in Athens; which was not only the most jealous, but was likewise at the head of all the other re-

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When the fiege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take the city, he ought to keep it for himfelf, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that propofal, and replied, "That the best and strongest key " which he knew, was the friendship of the people; and " that Athens being in a manner the light by which all " the world steered, would not fail to spread universally " the glory of his actions." It is very furprifing to fee in what manner princes, who are very unjust and felfinterested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generofity, and are follicitous of doing themselves honour, by assuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius fet out for Athens with five thousand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the fpace of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Cassander; and the republick, as I have already obferved, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a feries of greater tranquillity and happiness. citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and fixty, for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny\*, was limited to this number of days. An honour like this had never been

accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains and principal officers, were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a fudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being discovered,

Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. Pliny, l. xxxiv. c. 6.

discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might eafily be diffinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a fignal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himfelf at his fide, "That his father Antigonus had fent " him under happy auspices, to re-instate the Athenians " in the possession of their liberty, to drive the garrison

out of their citadel, and to re-establish their laws, and

" ancient plan of government.";

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud aeclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their preferver and benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that as the fon of Antigonus was already mafter of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promifed: upon which they immediately dispatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their fubmissions.

Demetrins received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good disposition towards them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as an hostage, at their dismission. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalerens, who, in confequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the atmost respect for his person; and he fent him with a fufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to fee their city; and that as desirous as he was to visit it, he would not so much as

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<sup>\*</sup> Meg cognomer Stilpon pl quid per omnia nai Habebat quæ non e funt, just

enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection by driving out the garrison that incroached upon their liberties. At the same time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised good intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a

strong garrison.

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When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Cratelipolis, the wife of Alexander, and Daughter of Polysperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then refided at Patræ, and was extremely defirous to fee him, and be at his devotion. He therefore le't his army in the territories of Megara, and having felected a finall number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a finall distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratelipolis might not be feen when the came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be apprifed of this impredent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected fuch a visit, and he had but just time to difguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; fo that he was on the point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on The enemy feised his account of his incontinence. tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city-of Megara being taken, the foldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and reinstated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon\*, a celebrated Philosopher.

<sup>\*</sup> Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus num quid perdidiffet: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum funt— Habebat enim secum vera bona, in que non est manus injectio—Hec sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia, c. v. Ep. 1X.

prudentia; & hoc ipsum, nihit bonum putare quod eripi possit—
Cogita nunc, an hute quisquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, & hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium protessus, eripere nihil potuit. Sence. de Const. sap. c. v. 5 Ep. IX.

philosopher, lived in that city, and was visited by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost any thing? Nothing at all, replied Stilpon, for I carry all my effects about me; meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance, and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of bleflings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against fuch a man as this, who neither defires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philosophy, not to consider death itself as a calamity !

Though the city was faved from pillage, yet all the flaves in general were taken and carried off by the conguerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, careffed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him in an entire state of Freedom. What you fay, my lord, is certainly true, replied the philosopher, for you have not left so much as one slave in it.

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the fiege with fo much vigour, that he foon drove out the garrison, and rased the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then affembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of government, promising, at the fame time that his father should fend them an hundred and fifty thousand measures of corn, and all neceffary materials for building an hundred galleys, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither these nor any. of the other princes had ever had the prefumption to take till then, though they had affumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise

honoured.

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honoured them with the appellation of tutelar deities; and inflead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its depomination, they elected a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the publick acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in procession at their folemn feltivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, and by an excess of adulation, scarce credible, they confecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot; and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they stiled, the tribe of Demetrius, and the tribe of Antigonus. They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be fent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambaffadors, should be called Theoroi, which was an appellation referved for those who were chosen to go and offer facrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlides, who proposed. " that in order to the more effectual confecra-" tion of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the " temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper persons should " be dispatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and " that after they had offered facrifices to him, they should " enquire of this tutelar deity, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, so as to celebrate, with " the greatest promptitude, and the utmost devotion and " magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and " that the people would comply with all the directions of " the oracle, on that occasion".

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The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered, in respect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledment they had rendered to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy,

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and were offended at his fuffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel, for the space of tea years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In which he, however, had only purfued the conduct of Phochion, and undoubtedly confidered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. (b) They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to fuffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their refentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, At least, faid he, it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which those statues were deserved.

What estimation is to be made of those honours, which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that had been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those savours, upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to

lofe them.!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, as infamous as such expedients were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been

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been univerfally known and experienced. The statues, while they sublisted, were so many publick testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then airned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just; and they imagined that a folemn authentick condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to infults. Menander that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being profecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is some reason to believe, that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reason, after the death of Cassander, to be apprehensive of all things from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whose court was then the

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had een (c) His reception at that court was as favourable as possible; and the king according to Ælian gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state. He held the first rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared, that they never came to him

<sup>(</sup>c) Ælian, l. iii. c. 17. Plut, in exil. p. 601.

and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel, for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for their removal. In which he, however, had only purfued the conduct of Phochion, and undoubtedly confidered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. (b) They might possibly imagine likewise, that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to fuffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their refentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, At least, faid he, it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which those statues were deserved.

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<sup>(</sup>c) Ælian, 1. iii. c. 17. Plut, in exil. p. 601.

in his prosperity, till he first had sent for them, but that they always vilited him in his advertity, without waiting

for any invitation.

During his exile, he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of fustenance to his mind \*, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity, with which it was fo largely replenished. How grateful a confolation and resource of this, either in folitude, or a state of exile, to a man follicitous of improving his hours of leifure to the ad-

vantage of himself, and the publick!

The reader, when he confiders the furprising number of statues erected in honour to one man, will undoubtedly bestow some reflexions on the strange difference he discovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now describing. A very judicious author (d) has a fine remark on this occasion. All the recompence, fays he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preferving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people being afterwards softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of fervilo adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a confiderable degree, in not oppoling them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined feveral marks of distinction which the people were defirous of granting him; and when he was asked, one day, why no statues had been crected to him, when Rome was crouded with those of so many others, I had much none,

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(f) P Demetr. \* '07 Jerve.

<sup>(</sup>d) Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi.

telo exilio scripsit, non ad usum aliquem fuum, quo erat orbatus;

<sup>(</sup>e) Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820. \* Multa præclara in illo calami- sed animi cultus ille erat ei quali quidam humanitatis cibus. Cie de Finib. bon. & mal. 1. v. n. 54.

much rather, faid he, people should enquire why I have

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True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consisted in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, sounded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age: whereas, a profusion of honours through flattery, or the apprehensions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortisication to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

(f) Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, espoused Eurydice, the widow of Ophellas. He had already had several wives, and, among the rest, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination. As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely cen-

fured at Athens, for infamous exceffes.

(g) In a short time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him with a strong sleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced.

Demetrius

<sup>(</sup>f) Plut. in Demetr. p. 894. (g) Diod. 1. xx. p. 783-789. Plut. in Demetr. p. 895-896. Justin. 1. xv. c. 2.

\* One to repos,, wage quo. y papartor. It was dedeuter, a man muß sove.

Demetrius being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had lost a thousand of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and three thousand more who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elate with this fucces, would undertake the fiege of Salamina made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he fent three couriers post to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the fiege with which he was threatened; they were also to sollicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to

lead them in person.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the fituation of the place, as also of its forces, and those of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the samous engine called Helepolis, of which

I shall give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the wall, by which means the besieged were rendered incaple of sustaining the affault much longer, unless they could resolve on some bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which

had fur of Sal walls, rials, a foot of and the fire in that the enemies this comachine.

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had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the soot of the Helepolis, battering rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long slaming poles. The shre immediately seised them with so much violence, that they were all in slames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire; but this cost them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however,

was not discouraged at this disafter.

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Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as foon as possible, to his assistance. The battle for which both parties prepared, after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon, the fpot, but in all absent princes and commanders. The fuccess appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an intire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty fail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the fixty veffels under his command, in order to charge the rear guard of Demetrius, and throw them into diforder, amidst the first heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those fixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the enterance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius diew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the fea, that he might be ina condition, in case any misfortune happened, to affift those who would be obliged to save themselves by lwimming; after which he failed into the open fea, with an hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in battle, and all the others, to the number of seventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domesticks, friends, and wives, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store-ships which lay at anchor, were seised by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition, after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships and land-forces, which last consisted of twelve hundred horse, and twelve thou-

fand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the flain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generoufly reftored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother, and the other the fon of Ptolemy, who were found among the prifoners: He also dismissed them, with their friends and domesticks, and all their baggage, without any ranfom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. With fo much more generofity, difinterestedness, and politeness, did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewise selected out of the spoils, twelve hundred complete suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the rest of the prisoners, whole number amounted to seventeen thousand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly re-inforced his army.

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Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his fon was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people, at the lame inflant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his fon the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were also no less industrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not feem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lylimachus and Scleucus foon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the East; and affumed the title of king, in their feveral dominions, after they had for to many years ulurped the supreme authority there, without prefuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Caffander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their discourse and letters to him, continued to write his in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pomp and loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species.

of beings different from the rest of mankind.

(b) Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and

<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 305. Appian, in Syr. p. 122, 123.

and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had

formerly been conquered by Alexander.

(i) Antigonus, on his fide, to improve the victory his fon had obtained in Cyprus, affembled an army of an hundred thousand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himfelf, that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much cafe as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the fetting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to surprise Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, caused him to difregard that falutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a palfage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other flicceeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius fultained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to fecure the months of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the defarts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march, fuch judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but, what was still more afflictive to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

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<sup>(</sup>i). Diod. l. xx. p. 304-306. Plut. in Dametr. p. 896, 8973

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Ptolemy had fent out boats on feveral parts of the river where the enemies referted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompence soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, became sensible of his inability to enter Egypt; that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion; and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country, was obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition, a great number

of his land-forces, and abundance of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a facrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, fent to acquaint Lyfimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and asterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the seventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. DEMETRIUS forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. PROTEGENES, a celebrated painter, spared during the siege.

(k) A NTIGONUS was almost fourfcore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and consequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his fon's fervices, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the fuccess which attended him. transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleafure, or applied to ferious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and it may be justly faid, that curiofity, and a fine turn of mind for the sciences, were inseparable from him. He never employed his natural industry in frivolous and infignificant amusements, like many other Kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their expertness in playing on instruments, others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanick arts had formething great and truely royal in it; his gallies, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them failing along their coasts; and his engines called helepoles, were

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<sup>(</sup>k) A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Diod. 1. xx. p. 819-885, & 217-825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, & 898.

were a furprising spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged

him at the time we are now speaking of.

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Among the illands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the fafety. of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were reforted to by great numbers of trading thips from all parts. It then formed a finall, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and who was studious, on its own part, to oblige them, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arole in those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital interest to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to their prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as their interest, ecretly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed When Antigonus, therefore, demanded rom Egypt. accours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated im not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their incient friend and ally; but this answer, as prudent and vell-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the upleasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the everest menaces; and, when he returned from his exedition to Egypt, he fent his fon Demetrius, with a eet and army, to chastife their infolent temerity, as e termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his. bedience.

The Rhodians, who forefaw the impending storm, had ent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in parcular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented

represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they

were then expoled.

The preparations on each fide were immenfe. metrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ships of war of different dimensions; and more than a hundred and seventy transports, which carried about forty thousand men, without including the cavalry, and the fuccours he received from pirates. He had likewise near a thousand small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of fo rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of foldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was fensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the besieged had above a hundred military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for affaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp

with a triple palifade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of ferving a republick, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, against one o condi T

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conduct of fieges, that antiquity ever produced.

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They began with difmissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to fix thousand citizens, and a thousand strangers. Liberty, and the right of denisons, were promised to such slaves as should diffinguish themselves by their bravery, and the publick engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publickly declared, that the citizens would beltow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the fons should be of age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a complete suit of armour, on the publick theatre, at the great folemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with morey to defray the expence of the fiege, and the folders pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making aims that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making catapultas and balistas; others formed different machines equally necessary; a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while feveral others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each striving with emulation to diffinguish himself on that occasion; so that a zeal so

ardent and univerfal was never known before.

The belieged first set out three good failors against a small fleet of suttlers and merchants, who supplied the enemy with provisions: they funk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners who were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thousand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds)

VOL. VII. thould' should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and

half the fum for a flave.

The fiege of Rhodes has been represented as the masterpiece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two tortoises to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from these enormous masses which the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from slights of darts and arrows. Two towers of sour stories were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be used in battering the latter with vollies of stories and darts. Each of these towers were placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, besides these tortoises and towers, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which stakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port

from thattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his sleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and surnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas, or cross-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for shooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

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The Rhodians seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burthen, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given, with respect to the ships of burthen in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose, as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, where he posted four hundred soldiers, who fortisted themselves immediately with good

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The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army; and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and the loss being almost equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrrows.

The besieged, who had been instructed at their own expence, in what manner the night was capable of being improved, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port, during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the missortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into

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the port. The Rhodians lost fome of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners faved themselves by

fwimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port, and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged: but they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long

period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had feifed, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of feveral engines, which discharged great stones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and feveral breaches were foon made in the walls. The besiegers then made a furious advance to feife the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this post was of the last importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a confiderable progress. they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for fuch a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besieged so effectually, that they scarce knew whither to run for the desence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost sury on all sides, and the besieged desended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several, even of the principal officers,

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got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed feven days in re-fitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a a sleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention most, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival, he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the slames, which had seised the vessels of the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and use all possible means to join the vessels that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with a surprising expedition and address; and the three gallies, after they had shattered and broke through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to slow

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into them through feveral openings. Two of them were already funk, but the third was towed along by the gallies, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that fituation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after fultaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by Iwimming.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himself; and, in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. this was completed, he caused it to be placed near the port which he was refolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at fea, and funk it to the bottom, with the vessels on

which it had been raifed.

The befieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first asfault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulled several times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of four hundred

This feries of fortunate events was fucceeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the affiftance of the Rhodians, and also of five hundred more whom Ptolemy fent from Egypt, most of them

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being Rhodians, who had lifted themselves among the

troops of that prince.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to fee all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, refolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by affault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He, therefore, prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called *helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was fquare, and each of its sides had an extent of feventy-five feet. The machine itself was an affemblage of large square beams, rivetted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to their fuperstructure. The jaunts of these wheels were three feet thick, and threngthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place casters \* under it, whose volubility rendered the machine moveable any

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From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whole dimenfions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three fides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were

launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over

note, that he was obliged to retain particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word part of a room.

\* Mons. Rollin informs us in a caster, which as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed the Greek term (Antistrepta) for under a piece of work, in such a want of a proper French word to manner as to render it convertible render it by; but as the English on all sides, like those little wheels language is not so defective in that affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any

each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each story had two large stair-cases, one for the ascent

of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artisans and others, employed on these works, amounted to near thirty thousand men, by which means they were finished with

incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship after the

fiege should be raifed.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the fea, they fent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prifoners. They had likewise seised a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied

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Den from the by the gave of general moved battered midable proport It was by four had a center the

accompanied with letters which she herself had written The Rhodians fent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated De-In this proceeding, fays Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once feifed fome of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they fent to Philip sealed as they were. There are fome rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republick were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were follicitous, in a publick affembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harrassed them with fuch a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not fuffer that propofal to be executed. So wife and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no fmall honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried feveral mines without fuccefs, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders, and made the necessary dispositions for a general affault: in order to which the helepolis was moved to a fituation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapultas and balistas proportioned in their fize to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides,. by four small machines called tortoifes, each of which had a covered gallery, to secure those who should either enter the helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different

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, and panied orders. On each fide was a battering-ram of a prodigious fize, confifting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force by near a thousand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to found, and the general affault to be given on all fides, both by fea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering rams, ambaffadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly sollicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes, at the fame time, that they should prevail upon the befieged to fubmit to an honourable capitulation. A fulpention of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions propoled to them, the attack was renewed with fo much fury, and all the machines co-operated fo effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. belieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulfed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemies ships which cruised in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small sleets sailed into the port; one was sent by Cassander, with one hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies machines, and with this

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view, ordered a body of foldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries, and fet them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The beliegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see, or avoid the vollies of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuolity, in order to fet it on fire: but as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their defign. However, Demetrius was apprehensive that all his machines would be confumed; to prevent which, he caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the belieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those, which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and a proper computation made, he became sensible that the inhabitants must have more than eight hundred engines of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismounted and rendered

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The besieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which their enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind

the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall, in the form of a crescent, along the ditch; and which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the nimblest ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous sleet of small vessels freighted with corn and other necessaries, sent them by Ptolemy, with sifteen hundred men commanded by

Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having re-instated his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a fecond embally arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little fuccess. The King, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for fucceeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the entrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of fo important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all fides, both by fea and land, that the befiged finding fufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of feifing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the fuccess the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general affault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made fuch a vigorous attack under the great number of the great num

The chiefs w officers a least mo themselve troops, an and with advanced night ren poits they than an u quarters, who had resolution bon expe tears and children, themselve inued wit nians defe ed their e their num the detach lain on th and aband Great nur

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attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seised the posts adjacent to the theatre, where

they maintained themselves.

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The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there dispatched orders to their officers and foldiers not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: but the obscurity of the hight rendered it impracticable to diflodge them from the polts they had feised, and the day no sooner appeared, than an universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might bon expect fuccours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women, and children, who continued in the city, and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, conimued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedomans defended their posts with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by heir numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having feen Alcimus and Mancius lain on the fpot, were obliged to fubmit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. breat numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than bated by this check, and he was making the necessary is positions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to ake all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied

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him with it. At that very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to sollicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse

as before.

(1) If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius feems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. fiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raile the fiege, and it is, at least, very probable that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which, they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after upon the sollowing terms. The republick of Rhodes, and all it citizens, should retain the enjoyment of their rights privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to an

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power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver an hundred hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after

having befieged it a year.

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(m) Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was defirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition; and accordingly prefented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that fiege. These they afterwards fold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thousand crowns) which they employed, with an additional fum of their own, in making the famous Coloffus, which was reputed one of the feven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full fail passed between its legs; the height of it was leventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could class its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-lix years after its erection it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we shall speak in the fequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed it, and contained a space of sour hundred sathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of slattery, as customary in those days as impious in itself, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: and, in order to perpetuate their

deliverer

deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which fignifies a faviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other. Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of

Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the feries of events that occurred at this tiege, and, therefore, referved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them; a circumstance not a little for the glory

of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or difcontinue his work. The king was furprised at his conduct; and as he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding, It is (replied he) because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for the ciences. Demetrius actually showed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to fee him work, and never sufficiently admired the application of that mafter to his art, and his furpriting excellency in it.

The master-piece of this painter was the falysus, an historical picture of a person of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their sounder, though only a fabulous hero \*. Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece; and when Apelles first saw it, he

\* He was the fon of Orchima. Rhoda, from aubim the city and whose parents were the Sun and island derived their name.

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<sup>‡</sup> Eit in quem parité Non judice fpumam au reliqua om simum era Displicebat

was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he at last began to recover from his aftonishment, he cried out, Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have raifed their reputation to the skies. If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himself to this work, condemned himfelf to a very rigid and abstemious life\*, that the delicacy of his tafte and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and confecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at last destroyed by fire.

The fame Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was faved by this picture; because as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest+, than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being confumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his tafte and value for painting into a furprifing extreme; but we have already feen the true reasons which

obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

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One of the figures in this picture was a dog ‡, that was admired by all good judges, and had cost the painter great application, without his being able to express his idea to his own fatisfaction, though he was fufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chase; and employed all the skill he was capable

\* He subsisted bimself on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse rubich satisfied his hunger and thirst at the Same time.

+ Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriæ.

Est in ea canis mire factus, ut quem pariter casus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat fe exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliqua omni parte (quod difficil-

minui poterat, & videbatur nimia, ac longiùs à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatu cum in pictura verum elle, non verisimile, vellet. Absterserat sæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo fibi approbans. Postremò iratus arti quòd intel-ligeretur, spongiam eam impegit inviso loco tabulæ, & illa reposuit ablatos colores, qualiter curá opfimum erat) fibi ipfi fatisfecisset. tabat: fecitque in pictura fortuna Displicebat autem ars ipsa, nec naturam. Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

of exerting on that occasion, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere refemblance would not not fuffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would fatisfy him. He was defirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and fuffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the very sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is cenfured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles \* almost regarded him as his mafter, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting, We ought, fays Cicerot, to know how far we should go; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing

when to have done.

\* Et aliam gloriam usurpavit memorabili præcepto, nocere same Apelles, cum Protogenis opus im- nimiam diligentiam. Plin. ibid. mensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxiæ miraretur. Dixit enim omnia quatenus—In quo Apelles picfibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi me- tores quoque eos peccare dicebat, liora, sed uno se præstare, quod qui non sentirent quid esset saus. manum ille de tabula nesciret tollere Orat. n. 73.

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SECT. IX. The expedition of SELEUCUS into India. DEMETRIUS compels CASSANDER to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between PTOLEMY, SELEUCUS, CASSAN-DER, and LYSIMACHUS, against Antigonus and DEMETRIUS. The battle of Ipfus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is flain, and Demetrius put to flight.

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's Successors, the more easily may we difcover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be in-They at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, o the real dignity, in order to difguife their own ambiious views. But as foon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered hemselves in their proper colours, and such as, in eality, they had always been. They were all equally ollicitous to support themselves in their several governnents; to become entirely independent; to assume an blolute fovereignty; and enlarge the limits of their rovinces and kingdoms at the expence of those other overnors, who were weaker or less successful than themlives. To this effect they employed the force of their ms, and entered into alliances, which they were ways ready to violate, when they could derive more lvantages from others, and they renewed them with le same facility from the same motives. They consiered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance estitute of a master, and which prudence obliged them fecure for themselves, in as large portion as possible, thout any apprehensions of being reproached as usurrs, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular rion. This was the great motive of all the enterprises which they engaged. SECT Seleucus.

(n) Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was defirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of interest with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the fiege of Rhodes, and in aweing the republicks of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue by a sudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the fpecious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the fuccessors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces; but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himfelf absolute mafter of all India, and had likewise an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretentions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furnish him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final refult of Alexander's Indian conquests! This the fruit of fo much blood shed to gratify the frantick ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after

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led his troops into the west against Antigonus, as I shall foon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian

(0) The Athenians, at the same time, called in Demetrius to affilt them against Cassander, who besieged their city. He accordingly fet fail with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Callander out of Attica, but purfued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily. He also admitted into his service fix thousand Macedonians, who came over to his fide.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already lavished upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had fo much fanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous and crying debaucheries. His courtefans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. (p) He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for flavery; fo much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius \*.

Democles, furnamed the Fair, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, choosing rather to die than

violate

<sup>(</sup>o) Diod. l. xx. p. 825-828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. 1. vi. p. 253.

<sup>\*</sup> Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis

parates! Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proverbis in hunc modum eloqui foli- jectæ servientium patientiæ tædebat. tum: O komines ad servitusem Taoit. Annal. 1. iii. c. 65.

violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appeale the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, That it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think sit to command, should be considered as sacred in regard to the gods, and just with regard to men. Is it possible to believe, that slattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius, after these proceedings, retired into Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and several others, where he had garrisons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand sestival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnise it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Eacides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

(q) The states of Greece being assembled in the Isthmus, and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior, so much was he intoxicated with the success of

his arms, and the flatery lavished upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March\*, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then present month of May should

(q) Plut. in Demtr. p. 900.

\* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which the mysteries were celebrated.

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Demetrice fubmitting with Ly Ptolemy, they were it evident all the other empire to alliance we They were cular, at permitted refation:

(r) A. M. : Semetr. p. 89 be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of () ctober; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duely initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonials prescribed by the law.

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But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order iffued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courtesans in her company, for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and refented the application of that sum to a greater degree than their contribution of it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comic poet, who said, that Lamia was a true helepolis; we have already shown, that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking towns.

(r) Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lysimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no less in view than to disposses all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lysimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their contersation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself

<sup>(</sup>r) A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. Diod. 1. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Semetr. p. 899. Justin. 1. xx. c. 4.

himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a thip, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lysimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, after which they haltened into Aflyria, to

make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having judged it expedient, that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius; and that the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two king. doms, without leaving them too destitute of forces. Lyfimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement; passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the folemn games he had there established. This news, with that of feveral other revolts, transmitted to him at the fame time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly difmiffed the affembly upon the fpot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the publick treasury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then aug mented his troops to the number he thought necellary After which he advanced directly towards the enemy and took feveral places in his march. Lytimachu thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arriva of the succours upon their march to join him from Seleu cus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year therefore, elapsed without any action, and each part retired into winter-quarters.

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(s) Seleucus, at the beginning of the next season, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who lest Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lysimachus upon his arrival in Asia.

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Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, Except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

(t) The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above sixty thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-sive elephants. The enemies forces consisted of sixty-sour thousand foot, ten thousand sive hundred horse, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots as med with scythes. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.

As foon as the fignal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Selcucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to slight; but a rash and in considerate thirst of glory, which generals can never suspect too much, and has been satal to many,

Vol. VII. H prompted

A.M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301. (1) Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any confideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he only made several feint attacks upon them, sometimes on one side, and fometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they refolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the fame instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who fustained their efforts for some time, but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Ephesus, with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which were all that remained of more than fixty thousand men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. (u) The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an effay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

(x) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

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## CHAP. II.

SECT. I. The four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great into as many kingdoms. Seleucus builds several cities. Athens shuts her gates against Demetrius, He reconciles bimself with Seleucus, and afterwards with Ptolemy. The death of Cassander. The first actions of Pyrrhus. Athens taken by Demetrius. He loses all he possessed almost at the same time.

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A FTER the battle of Ipfus, the four confede-The rate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Coelofyria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia and Greece: Lysimachus Thrace, Bithynia, and fome other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus: and Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other fide of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief feat of his residence, in which he was followed by his fuccessors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have affigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipfus; and if we add to thefe the twelve years, during which he exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years affigned him by Uther.

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<sup>(</sup>x) Plut, in Demetr. p. 902. Appian, in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xy p. 572.

These four kings \* are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who fucceeded in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designed by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the

fame prophecy t.

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were configned to governors, under the brother and fon of Alexander, and none but the last was the regal partition. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, four stood up for it. But not one of Alexander's fucceffors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the last division of the empire. And even this dignity was at first precari-

\* And as I was considering, bebold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable born between bis eyes. And he came to the ram that had two borns, which I had feen standing before the river, and van unto him in the fury of his power. And I faw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler first king. Now that being broken, against him, and smote the ram, whereas four stood up for it, four and brake his two horns, and there kingdoms shall stand up out of the was no power in the ram to stand b fore him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his band. Therefore the be-goat waxed very great, and when he was heads; and dominion was given toit. frong, the great born was broken:

And from it came up four notable borns, toward the four winds of beaven. Dan. chap. viii. ver. 5, 6, 7, 8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had feen: The ram swhich thou fawest having two borns are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great born that is between his eyes, is the nation, but not in his power. Ibid.

ver. 20, 21, 22. + After this I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had, upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beaft had also four

Dan. vii. 6.

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ous, as being affumed by each of the feveral parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipfus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, affigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of fo many kingdoms, and authorifed and acknowledged them as kings and fovereigns, inde-These four kings are, pendent of any fuperior power.

Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

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We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be observed, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretels. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions and a chaos of fingular events, does he determine each particular circumitance, and fix the number of the feveral fuccessors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation, that was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to posses; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and specified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and fuccess! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were fo remote from probability; and may we not evidently discover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to resume the thread of our history.

(y) Onias, the first of that name, and high priest of the Jews, died about this time, and was fucceeded by his fon Simon, who, for the fanctity of his life, and H 3

<sup>(</sup>y) Joseph. Antiq. 1. xii. c. 2.

the equity of all his actions, was furnamed the Juft. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

(z) Seleucus, after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father, or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was the capital of the East for a long time, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demolished it, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards trans-

planted the inhabitants of the former.

(a) Among feveral other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the rest: The first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from his consort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the southern part of the same quarter. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the Battle of Ipsus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole resource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his sleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was strangely surprised and offended, when he was met in his way, by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the

(z) A. M. 3704 Ant. J. C. 300. Strab 1. xvi. p. 749. 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Justin. I. xv. c. 4. (a) Strab. I. xvi. p. 750.

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the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings: they also informed him, that his confort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. metrius was then fensible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his gallies, among which was that prodigious galley of fixteen benches of As foon as he had received them, he failed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devaltations in the territories of Lylimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the defertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themselves formidable anew.

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Lysimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters named Arsinoe; shortly after which, his son Agathocles married another.

(b) This double alliance between Lylimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the fifter of Cassander. The beauty of that princess had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In confequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus H 4

<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

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went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the confent of the other kings, which he confidered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents \*, were depolited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then fet fail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the Princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials and the entertainments given on each fide, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then fent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have feveral wives at the fame time.

During these transactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seised with an indisposition that ended her days. (c) Demetrius having reconciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect; for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, beside his new conquests in

Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shows that these Princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people,

<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298.

\* Twelve bund ed thousand crowns.

people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed \*.

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The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of fuch abilities on each fide of his dominions, he required Demetrius to furrender Cilicia to him for a very confiderable fum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with fuch a propofal, Seleucus infifted upon his reftoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, that depended on Syria, Demetrius, enraged at this of which he was king. demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at fo high a price. At the fame time he failed to those two cities, where he re-inforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such anodious aspect, with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was univerfally condemned: for as his dominions were of fuch a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how infatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-inlaw the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

(d) Cassander died about this time of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine years, from the death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He lest three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great, Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, lest his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

(e) Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young

<sup>(</sup>d) A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297. (e) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383-385. \* Chap. i. ver. 9, 10.

young prince was the fon of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himfelf, then an infant at the breaft, was preferved from the fury of the revolters, who purfued him with intent to destroy After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, follicited the King to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him two hundred talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horrour at fuch a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and re-instated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to fubmit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being foftened into compassion, they themfelves recalled him, and affigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himfelf: but there feems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his feventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne; and fet out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, feifed all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the fon of Antigonus,

who had espoused his fister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipfus, and would not forfake Demetrius even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was conducted between Ptolemy and Demetrius,

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Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went

into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

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During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy he gave fufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting-exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that the surpatted the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him fuch a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite confort, in preference of feveral young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the Queen had so much influence over her confort, as to induce him to grant his fon-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repollers himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exile prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raifed great expectations of his future glory.

(f) Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities which had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely

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<sup>(</sup>f) A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

blocked up, and reduced to he last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. (g) A fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, sent by King Ptolemy, to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Egina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnessus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to three hundred, they weighed anchor, and sled.

Although the Athenians had iffued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to affemble in the theatre, which he furrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each fide of the stage where the dramatick pieces were performed; and then defcending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terrour, expecting it would prove the fentence for their destruction: but he diffipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himfelf in any passionate or insulting language, but foftened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself. to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; prefenting them, at the fame time, with an hundred thousand measures of corn, and re-instating such magnifrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be eafily conceived from the terrours with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so glorious, fo admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archi-

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damus, their King, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight: after which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very fight of Sparta. He was again victorious; five hundred of the enemies were made prisoners, and two hundred killed upon the spot, so that he was already confidered as mafter of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different The first was, that Lysimachus had lately manner. divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the King of Egypt carried on the fiege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their affiftance, but was foon informed that the place had furrendered. Ptolemy had the generofity to give the mother, wife, and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ranfom; and to difmifs them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent prefents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was foon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another fide. Thus, in a very fhort time, he faw himself divested of all his dominions, without any re-

lource or hopes for the future.

SECT. II. Dispute between the two sons of Cassander for the crown of Macedonia. Demetrius, being invited to the assistance of Alexander, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed King of the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. Pyrrehus and Lysimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. Pyrrhus is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison.

of fortune, or even experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter he had not the

least room to expect it.

(h) In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown, Thessalonica, their mother, savoured Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, sollicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified,

(b) A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

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at the interview between them, all imaginable grafitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the flate of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his affiftance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of fubjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, converfed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feafts, till at last Demetrius, upon fome intelligence, either true or contrived, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that defign, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occasioned his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him King of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater sled into Thrace, where he did not long furvive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, King of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Theisalonica, and her two sons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hereules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants,

perished by violent deaths.

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(i) Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia on the banks of the Tygris, and at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous

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<sup>(</sup>i) A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738 & 743. Plin

in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by fix hundred thousand persons. The dykes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river, which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so incommodious, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who at a time, when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. (k) I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

(1) Simon, furnamed the Just, and high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the function of it for the space

of fifteen years.

(m) I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations, for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above an hundred thousand men, and sitted out a sleet of sive hundred sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his gallies, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal association of the seen seen seen sittle then; and Ptolemy

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<sup>(</sup>k) Vol. II. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. (l) A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2. (m) A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. Plut. in Demetr. p. 909. & in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

Ptolemy Philopater did not build one of forty benches till many years after this period\*; but then it was only for pomp and oftentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their grandeur and

magnificence.

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(n) Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewife engaged Pyrrhus, King of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one fide, Pyrrhus was carrying on the fame operations Demetrius, who was then making preon the other. parations in Greece for his intended expedition into Asia; advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions, but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of foldiers belonging to Demetrius. news caused so great a disorder in the army of that prince, that a confiderable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared, with an air of mutiny and fedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to fuch an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the difguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed King of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this fudden revolution. Demetrius, who confidered vain pomp, and superb magnificence, as true grandeur,

(n) A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287.

\* This galley was two hundred dred failors, beside four thousand and eighty cubits (about four hundred and twenty feet) in length, foldiers, who were disposed in the
and twenty-eight cubits (seventytwo feet) from the keel to the top the lower deck, Plut. in the life of
of the poop. It carried four hunDemetrius.

grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their efteem. He ambitiously loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes, enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary: and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the fystem of the world, with all the ftars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future King would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of approach. He was either so imperious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech, or elfe he treated them with fo much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the ftreets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius\*, he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be fenfible that fuch a contemptuous behaviour is fufficient to provoke his subjects to revolt from his authority. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had feveral times refused audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leifure to hear her. Re no longer King then, replied the with fome emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSIBLE DUTY

\* A river of Upper Macedonias.

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The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were fensible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the fervices rendered him, and that he was flow to anger and feverity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himfelf, who ordered them to be brought into his prefence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard? Yes, my lord (replied one of the company) and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine. Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and difmissed them from his presence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their refentment for their defeat. was a common expression with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himfelf was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander +, but a good matron of Larissa, in

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\* Ο Έν γας ετας τω βασιλεί προσίπου, ώς το τίς δίεις έργου.

+ A set of flatterers had really princes he most resembled. She repersuaded Pyrrhus, that he resem- sused to answer him for a considerable bled Alexander in the seatures of his time, till at last he pressed her very sace. With this belief he sent for earnessly to satisfy his curiosity; the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. Lucian. advers. indoct. p. 552, 553.

the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Aexander, Caffander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then loged, to tell him which of those

whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer, perhaps, not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him the aspect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presume to oppose him: but with respect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that the Macedonians, who entertained such prejudices in his favour, and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius, to espouse that of Pyrrhus; and one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, how necessary it is for princes to attach their people to their interests by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same

time their greatest security.

(o) As Lyfimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared King of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them: but this agreement was fo far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a constant train of animosities and divisions: for, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable defarts, could fuffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their defires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice

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injustice of invading domains so near, and which might prove so commodious to them: this was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin; to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice. Again, continues the same author, do they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or transient suspension of their unjust views?

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these resections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise, and more impunity. May heaven grant that those complaints be never applicable to any princes

or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a flate of repole; and being himself . not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of fatisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprifes, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's difgust of Pyrrhus, and enflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully infinuated that they had acted most shamefully in choosing a stranger for their mafter, whom interest, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, Kings have no reason to blame

other persons for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as in acting so, they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of insidelity and treason, which they have learned from their whole conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity, and faith, in the observance

of engagements.

(p) With respect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himself deserted by his troops, retired to the city of Cassandria\*, where his consort Phila resided: this lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the missortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius thinking to gather up fome remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his fon Antigonus; and affembling all the troops he could raife in that country, which amounted to about eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to try whether despair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the filter of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where fhe lived with the Princess Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

(q) Demetrius, soon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; by which means he at last made himself master

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<sup>(</sup>p) Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911. (q) Ibid. 912-915.

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of Sardis: but, as foon as Agathocles, the fon of Lyfimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His defign in taking this route was to surprise Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to march for Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he reprefented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy lituation of his affairs. and intreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleticus was touched with compassion at first, and dispatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his defigns, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to re-instate a prince of that character, without incurring many disadvantages himself. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and fent to Seleucus a fecond time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: but if he should not be inclinable to grant him that fayour, he intreated his consent to take up his winterquarters in his dominions; and begged that prince not to expose him to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was fo prejudiced against the design he had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his dissidence; and he consented to nothing more, than his taking his winter-quarters in Catalonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of that season; after which he was immediately to evacute that country. Seleucus, during this negociation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage

into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his foldiers, reviving from this fuccess, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be fuddenly feiled with a fevere diffemper, which difconcerted all his meafures. During the forty days that he continued fick, most of his foldiers deferted; and when he at last recovered his health, fo as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to furprife Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deferter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design, time enough to prevent its effect; and the defertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the pastes fo well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was foon diflodged by hunger, and compelled to furrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Cherfonesius of Syria near Laodicea, where he was detained prisoner. He, however, was allowed the libert life

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When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity he was affected with the utmost forrow; and wrote to all the Kings, and even to Scleucus himself. to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their follicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The King of Syria was struck with horrour at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal; and, in order to grant a favour follicited from fo many different quarters, he feemed only to wait the arrival of his fon Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer feemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the phrenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, but the fatality of tormenting themselves, by rendering others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually feifed with melancholy; and no longer amufed himself with his former exercises: he grew corpulent and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with defign to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of VOL. VII.

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three years, he was seised with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His fon Antigonus, to whom the urn, which inclosed the ashes of that prince, was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the fequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was furnamed Gonatus, continued peaceable poffesfor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for feveral generations, in a direct line from father to fon, till the reign of Perseus, the last of that family, who was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECT. III. PTOLEMY SOTER refigns his kingdom to his fon PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS presides over both.

(x) DTOLEMY Soter, the fon of Lagus, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt, with the style of King, and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was defirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus\*, one of his fons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among those, Ptolemy, furnamed Ceraunus, or The Thunderer; who being the fon of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, for exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and fo great was her afcendant over him,

(r) A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Justin. l. xvi.

<sup>\*</sup> The word signifier, a lover of be charged two of his brothers with his brethren; but Ptolemy received forming designs against his life, and this surname, agreeably to a sigure then caused them to be destroyed of speech called antiphrasis, because Pausan. I. i. p. 12.

that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age; he resolved to have him crowned in his own life time, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid session of this description of it to the end of this section.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodness entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

(s) In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was the first year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of antiquity. It was a large square structure built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost eight hundred talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to two hundred thousand pounds, but amount to almost double that sum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned

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before\*. Pharos was originally a real island, at the

distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was

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<sup>(</sup>s) Plin. 1. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. 1. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in page.

(t) Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Pto. lemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy of the King of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered fuch extremities from a famine, that they confented to refign this idol to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (u) surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

(x) Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himfelf in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophick studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successfors. (y) His son Philadelphus lest a hundred thousand volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last

it confifted of feven hundred thousand volumes.

(z) This library was formed by the following method.

All the Greek and other books that were brought into

(t) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. Tacit. hist. 1. iv. c. 83, & 84. Plut. de Isid. & Ofir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31. (u) Amm. Marcell. 1. xxii. c. 16. (x) Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. 1. ix. c. 8. Strab. 1. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095. (y) Euseb. in Chron. (z) Galen.

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(a) P
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Egypt were feised, and sent to the Museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with sisteen talents (equal to sisteen thousand crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Museum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain four hundred thousand volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it three hundred thousand

volumes.

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(a) In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its four hundred thousand volumes Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased\*, when speaking of the conslagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the culogium made on it by Livy, who stiles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian Kings, and of their wise attention for the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would only have it considered as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books

(a) Plut. in Cæfar. p 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. 1. xxii.

c. 16. Dion. Cast. l. xlii. p. 202.

\* Quadringenta millia librorum imò, Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum non regiæ opulentiæ monumentum. Alius compusatiæ regum curæque egregium id ratum opus ait suisse. Non suit elegantia c. ix.

imò, ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant—Paretur itaque librorum quantum sit, nihil in apparatum. Senec. de tranquill. anim.

books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and oftentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but Kings are capable of sounding these magnificent libraries, which become a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those

states in which they were established?

The library of Serapion did not fustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those two hundred thousand volumes of that of Pergamus, which were prefented to her by Anthony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and confiderable than the first; and though it was ranfacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its loties, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, affording its treasures to the learned and curious, till the feventh century, when it fuffered the fame fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too fingular to be passed over in silence.

(b) John, surnamed the Grammarian, and a samous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria, when the city was taken; and as he was much esteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or Emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly writ to Omar, the then Khalif, whose answer was, That is those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths;

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but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any further examination; and, to that effect, were distributed into the publick bagnios, where, for the space of fix months, they were used for suel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning de-

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The Museum of Bruchion was not burnt with its library. (c) Strabo acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the King himself, and afterwards by the Roman Emperor: and that they had a hall where the whole society eat together at the expence of the publick, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that they would always supply

<sup>(</sup>c) Strab. 1, xvii. p. 793.

him with fuch counfels as none of his friends would prefume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all forts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better affist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

(d) We have formerly feen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince. He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confident. He consulted him, preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the fuccession to the crown. prince, two years before his death, had formed a refolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himfelf of his dignity in fuch a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

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<sup>(</sup>d) Plut in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert, in Demetr. Phal.

<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285.

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(e) Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter, King of Egypt, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his refignation of the empire to his fon. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him fuch examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his fuccessors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raifed it to fuch an height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the fame fondness of fimplicity of manners, and the fame aversion for oftenstatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently eat with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no difgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. (f) And when fome persons represented to him, that the regal dignity feemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, That the true grandeur of a King consisted in enriching others, not himself.

SECT. IV. The magnificent folemnity, at the inauguration of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS King of Egypt.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned by antiquity. Athenaus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and

( A. M. 3721, Ant. J. C. 283. (f) Plut. in Apoph. p. 18r.

and solemn sestivals, in honour of their gods. I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers, for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare before-hand, that the relation will be something tedious.

(b) This pompous folemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the Circus of Alexandria. It was divided into feveral parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the King's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their history.

Athenœus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgement may be formed of the

magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni came a band of fatyrs, composed of

twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by the victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet high, steaming with kindled persumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves and adorned on

all fides with certain white fillets.

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An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple vests; each of them supporting a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty fatyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right-hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified

with a variety of colours.

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In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six seet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very amiable woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other

a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris \*.

The next in the procession were the Genii of the four seasons, wearing ornaments by which they were distinguished, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of fatyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others

carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after these were seen Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians,

dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletick combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen seet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen seet high, was designed for the men.

\* This word signifies the space of feast of Bacehus was celebrated at five years, because, at the expiration of the next, which ion of every fourth year, the was the fifth.

An extraordinary large chariot followed thefe. It had four wheels\*, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by one hundred and eighty men. In this chariot was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent velt of a faffroncolour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great veffel of gold, formed in the Laconick manner, and containing fifteen measures, called metretes t. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vafe of odours, with two cups of the fame metal full of cinnamon and faffron. Bacchus was feated in a shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit-trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with the timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of fatirick, comick, and tragick masks. In the same chariot were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vans t.

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns composed, some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their

hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another chariot, twelve seet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nysa, sitting s, twelve seet high, and clothed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconick habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines that were not touched by any person,

\* All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the fequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

corresponds most with the Roman amphora, but was somewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

† Mystica Vannus Iacchi, Virg. She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

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<sup>+</sup> This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which

person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were represented various leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by a blended soliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, thirty-fix feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, and drawn by three hundred men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-fix feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty satyrs trod the grapes, to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole progress.

Another chariot of the same magnitude, was drawn by six hundred men. This carried a sat of a prodigious size, made of leopard skins sewed together. The vessel contained three thousand measures, and shed a constant essels of wine during the procession.

effusion of wine during the procession.

This chariot was followed by an hundred and twenty crowned fatyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and

large cups, all of gold.

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This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver fat, containing six hundred metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the sigures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two filver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a

half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great fats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty metretes.

metretes, and the least five: there were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, and disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen seet in length, and thirty more of six; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four seet; the other three, that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came twenty Delphick tripods, all of filver, and fomething less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six beakers, sixteen flaggons, and an hundred and sixty other vessels, the largest of which contained six metretes, and the smallest two. All

these vessels were of filver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which, called Laconicks, were crowned with vine leaves: there were likewise two Corinthian vales, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight metretes: a winepress, on which ten goblets were placed: two other vales, each of which contained five metretes: and two more that held a couple of measures: twenty-two vessels for preferving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty metretes, and the least one: four golden tripods of an extraordinary fize: a kind of golden basket, intended as a repolitory for vellels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewife divided into fix partitions, one above another, and adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height; two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: two falvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten beakers: an altar four feet and a half high; and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched fixteen hundred youths, habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and four hundred of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

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After these appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, some of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and three hundred diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semele, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others

adorned with precious stones.

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We must not omit a chariot thirty-three seet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by five hundred men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine leaves: several pigeons, ring-doves, and turtles issued out of the aperture, and slew about. Little bands were fastened to their seet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two sountains, likewise, one of milk and the other of wine, slowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was represented by a statue, eight seet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the soliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by five hundred young virgins, adorned with purple vefts and golden zones. An hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of

the branches of pine.

Next to these came an hundred and twenty satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned satyrs, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely

harnessed with gold, the rest with filver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; fixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; fix by oryges, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine; and the lesser youth with ivy.

On each side of these were three chariots drawn by camels, and sollowed by others drawn by mules. In these chariots were several tents, resembling those of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried three hundred pounds weight of incense; others two hundred of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odorise-

rous spices.

At a little distance from these, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried six hundred elephants teeth; another, two thousand branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold-dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of two thousand four hundred dogs of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, beside

a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by one hundred and fifty men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheasants, and a great number of Ethiopian birds. After these appeared a hun-

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eared huna hundred and thirty sheep of that country; three hundred of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Euboca; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a camelopard \*, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy-leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy-leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive-branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of 'these was a great vase filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by feveral women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore

crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrfus, a hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and a filver lance eighty

feet long

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of chariots, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these came a chorus of six hundred men, among whom were three hundred who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band

Diversum consusa genus panthera camelo.

band marched two thousand bulls, all of the same colour. and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an ægis \* hung on the breast of each. All these habiliments were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one fide of this statue

itood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The proceilion was graced with feveral thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of folid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed ten thousand

pieces of gold +, each containing four drachmas.

In this procession were likewise three hundred golden vales, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearths, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and fixty in height; and another was only twelve feet and a half high. Nine Delphick tripods of gold appeared next, having fix feet in their altitude; and there were fix others, nine feet in height. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; feveral animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve seet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, fixty-fix feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length fixty feet; a gilded temple, fixty feet in circumference; a double horn twelve feet long; a vast number of gilded animals, several

\* A kind of buckler which covered fore of this single crown amounted to the breaft.

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<sup>+</sup> The Artick Stater, usually eal!ed xeuris, was equal to ten livres sterling. French money; the value there-

of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of

eagles thirty feet high.

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Three thousand and two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a confecrated crown, containing a hundred and twenty seet, undoubtedly, in its circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, with a

circumference of twenty-four.

These ornaments of the procession were accompanied with a golden cuirafs, eighteen feet in height; and another of filver, twenty-feven feet high. On this latter was the reprefentation of two thunder-bolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; with an oaken crown embellithed with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; fixty-four complete fuits of golden armour; two boots of the fame metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve basons; a great number of flaggons; ten large vales of perfumes for the baths; twelve beakers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables: all these were gold. There were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets; and a horn of solid gold, forty-four feet in length. All these golden veffels and other ornaments, were in a separate procesfion from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise four hundred chariots laden with vessels, and other works of silver; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and eight hundred more appropriated to the carriage of aromatick spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of fifty-seven thousand and six hundred foot, and twenty-three thousand horse, all dressed and armed in a magnisi-

During the games and publick combats, which continued for fome days after this pompous folemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of

gold,

gold, and they received twenty-three from his confort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at two thousand two hundred and thirty talents, and fifty minæ, about three hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred pounds sterling: from whence some judgement may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver

employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comick strain?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I have formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himfelf fo remarkable for his contempt of gold and filver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the fight of it in all its parts, would have proved insupportable to him; and am inclined to think he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had fome refemblance to this. He and his fon Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in defiring a triumph at his advanced age \*.

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Cataline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out (says he) and torment their gold and silver by all imaginable methods,"

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plecti, qui triumphum—tam inepte senex concupisset. Sueton. in Vospas.

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<sup>\*</sup> Adeo nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupide appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate & tædio c. xii. pompæ, non ceticuerit merito se

(I must intreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation) " and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of " exhaulting and overcoming their riches." Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant\*; tamen fumma lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. In such prosusions as these, did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truely great or admirable in this vain oftentation of riches, and a waite of fuch immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people fo many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amalled by a long feries of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were facrificed to the curiofity of a fingle day, and displayed to publick view, only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducing to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we fay, when we behold a facred procession, and a solemnity of religion converted into a publick school of intemperance and licentiousness, such as are only proper to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by prefenting to their view all the utenfils of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would exact, or fo much as fuffer fo scandalous a pomp in their worthip!

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flakes, and torments bim, without being able to extort a confession from bim of bis defeat. In this contest, therefore, zuberein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming ber riches.

<sup>\*</sup> These metaphorical terms, trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt, may possibly be de ived from the combats of the Athleta, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines bimself victorious, he drags him along the Are-Ma, in sight of the spectators, twists,

SECT. V. The commencement of the reign of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. The death of DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS. SELEUCUS resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoe are murdered by their Uncle Ceraunus, who also banishes that princess. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphos. Antigonus establishes himself in Macedonia.

(b) PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after the death of his father, became fole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to say, Phoenicia, Coelosyria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the

Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his refentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But when the sovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he caused that philosopher to be seised, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him.

(i) But at last the bite of an aspick put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better sate.

The testimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government; we therefore shall only consider what has been

observed with respect to his eloquence.

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<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theorrit. Idyll. xvii.
(i) Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. in 23.

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The characters of his writings, as Cicero observes in feveral places \*, were fweetness, elegance, beauty, numbers, and ornament, fo that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his discourse, otherwife not dignified to any great degree with rich fentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and sublime. He was rather to be confidered as a wreftler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for publick games and spectacles, than as a foldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with fomething grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merit, when limited to just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to suppress the fallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgement; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and

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\* Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest: disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. Offic. 1. i. n. 3. Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem. sed non tam armis

mus ille quidem, sed non tam armis sinstitutus, quam palæstra. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam instammabat. Processerat enim in lalem & pulverem, non ut è militari clar. Grat. B. 37 & 38.

tabernaculo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis—Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret: & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis sua, non (quem admodum de Pericle scripsit Euposis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. De clar, Grat, n. 37 & 38.

studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time\*, had been accustomed to a noble and majestick eloquence, whose character was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that revolted against this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and languishing species, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered salse

taste predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains furvived Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: and as they were now advancing to the period of their days (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them: instead of which, their mutual destruction by war, became the whole object of their thoughts,

on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. (k) The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly somented by the differences of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same

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<sup>(</sup>k) Justin. 1. xvii. c. r. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.

\* Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; inesset, non sucatus, nitor—His

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n. 36-35

mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction' of herfelf, and her own children, at the death of Lysi-This calamity the was determined to prevent, machus. by facrificing Agathocles to her fuspicions; and the fucceeded in her delign, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own fon, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lyfandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another for of Lylimachus, took fanctuary in the court of Seleucus. and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysima-Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horrour at the murder of his fon, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonfrances of Lyfandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already fufficiently disposed by views of interest.

(1) Before he engaged in this enterprise, he resigned his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate, and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seised with a lingering distemper, of which the physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the inquietude of a sather who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age; whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from a passion he had entertained for some lady; in which

(/) Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126-128.

conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to discover the object of a passion, the more violent from the fecrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he furmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he faw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her confort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch obferves, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as fo many indications of a violent paffion. Such, for instance, as a suppression of voice; burning blushes; suffusion of fight; cold sweat; a sensible inequality and diforder of pulse; with a variety of the like fymptoms. When the physician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his enquiries with fo much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his motherin-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it: he added, that he had a thoufand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts, in such a conjucture; particularly the refpect due from him to a father and fovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a defign he ought never to be desirous of gratifying; but that his reason in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for defires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to languish to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of

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this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next enquiry after his fonts health, Erafiftratus replied, that his diftemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, defired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because " the is my wife," replied the phylician, " and I am " not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of ano-"ther.—" And will you not part with her then," replied the king, "to preferve the life of a fon I fo " tenderly love! Is this the friendship you profess for " me!"-"Let me intreat you, my lord," faid Erafistratus, " to imagine yourself for one moment in my place, " would you relign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, " therefore, who are a father, would not confent to fuch " a facrifice for the welfare of a fon fo dear to you, how " can you expect another should do it?"—" I would " refign Stratonice, and my empire to him, with all my " foul," interrupted the king. "Your majesty then," replied the phylician, "has the remedy in your own "hands; for he loves Stratonice." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the confent of his confort: after which his fon and that princess were crowned king and queen of Upper Asia. (m) Julian the apostate relates, in a fragment of his writings still-extant, that Antiochus could not espouse Stratonice till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of referve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shows us the misfortune of giving the least entrance into the heart of an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of

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(n) Seleucus being now eafed of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He theretore

<sup>(</sup>m) In Misop. (n) Justin. 1. xvii. c. 1.2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. ix. Paulan. in Attic. p. 18. Orof. -23. Polyza. 4, 9.

fore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia Minor. All the country submitted to him, as far as Sardis, which he befieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysima.

(0) This last, having passed the Hellespont, in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia\*, but was defeated and flain; in consequence of which Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure t on this occasion refulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious, over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his This last victory was undoubtedly the best justifavour. fication of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already affumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occasion, was of no long continuance, for when he went, feven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely affassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations: for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him fuitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the fame forces for his eltablishment

(o) A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

quod majus ea victoria putabat, folum se de cohorte Alexandri remarfisse victoremque victorum extitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed rum prorsus, non multo post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. Jufin. 1. xvii. c. 2.

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<sup>\*</sup> Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eufebius, by an evident miftake, calls Kogunestor, instead of divinum munus, gloriabatur: igna-Kugemedior, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, 1. xiii. p. 629. & Lætus ea victoria Seleucus, &

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fragilimplu**m**  ment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was infensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villainy to conspire against his benefactor; whom he affassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipfus, when the title of king was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the æra of the Seleucidæ commences.

(p) A late differtation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years, by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleueus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government; but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards reunited them, even in the life-time of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, which has been my usual guide, and which assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had dispossessed them, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had ferved under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of death; and acknowledged him for their K3 king,

<sup>(</sup>p) Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academie des Inscrip. & Belles Lettres.

king, but his conduct foon caused them to change their

fentiments.

(q) He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace, while his fifter Arsinoe and the children she had by Lysimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorfe. Ceraumus feigned a passion for his fister, and seemed desirous of espousing her; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arfinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the confequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plaufible pretexts, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple, which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her intimate friends, who she had fent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he follicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arlinoe placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the aweful feal of religion; but the was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal, would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more follicitous than her own. She, therefore, confented at last, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his filler, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arfinoe felt a real joy, when the beheld herfelf fo glorioutly re-established, in the privileges of which she had been

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divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occasion, with all the publick places and private houses were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be seen but altars and victims ready for facrifice. The two sons of Arsinoe, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty, and majestick mien, advanced to meet the King, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comick part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seised the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes sled for refuge to the Queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering them the last offices, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two semale servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

(r) Providence would not suffer such crimes to go unpunished, but called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, fent out at prodigious number of people to feek a new fettlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after they K 4 had

<sup>(</sup>r) A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Justin. I. xxiv. & xxv. Pausan. 1. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud. Photium. Eclogæ Diod. I. xxii. Callim hymn. in Delum. & schol. ad cundum. Suidas in Pakarai.

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had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were ftruck with fo much terrour, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they dispatched ambaffadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceedingly happy in purchasing their liberty with money, Ptolemy Ceraunus\*, King of Macedonia, was the only prince who unaffected at the tidings of this formidable eruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undifciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of twenty thousand men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an infulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who had subdued the universe under the ensigns of Alex-

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it: but, conceiving this offer the result of sear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him

<sup>\*</sup> Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptole- ciliùs quam scelera patrarentur, pare mæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus ricidiorum suriis agitatus, occurata audivit, hisque cum paucis & in- Justin.

as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls: and we may from hence observe, the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and injustice of princes: he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain ima-

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A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prifoner by the Gauls, who after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and showed it to the army in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians faved themselves by slight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, improving the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop: but this leader is not to be confounded with the other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon this intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a refolution to have a part. And when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his defire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop, but, in all probability, he was killed in the fecond engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated mto that of Brenmis. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of anbundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand

t orfe, and entered Hyrium, in order to pass into Macodonia and Greece.

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During a fedition which happened in their march, a body of twenty thousand men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

(s) This defertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, fuch numerous re-enforcements, as increased their army to a hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and fixty-one thousand two hundred horse. The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops which had been posted there, to defend that important pass: till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery,

(1) A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278,

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that the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner. (t) Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very aftonishing events: for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended by an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were struck with such a panick \* the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in confequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner that before the day grew. light enough for them to diffinguish each other, above half of the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple to revered among them had drawn from all parts to preferve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in-which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with fo much impetuofity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to initiain the shock, and were flaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in feveral parts of his body, but not mortally: when he faw that all was loft, and that the defign he had formed ended in the destruction of his army, he was feifed with fuch defpair, as made him refolve not to furvive his losses. He accordingly fent for all the officers that could be affembled, amidit the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his

own bosons, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylæ, in

<sup>\*</sup> The ancients thought these kinds mind by the god Pan. Other reesons if terrours were injused into the are likewise offigned for that name.

order to march out of Greece, and conduct the fad ramains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were always roduced to the necessity of lying on the ground; though it was then the winter scason; in a word, as they were constantly harrassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by samine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the fudden tempest that arose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and the miraculous fall of the rocks on the facrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemies, who might likewife roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priefts, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interpolition: it is certain that any account of this nature might be eafily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving in to the marvellous, and feldom ferupulously examine the truth of fuch things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a facrilegious impiety; and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of sable (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves) but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and

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and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preferve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by fome extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleafed him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, referved for the instruction of mankind, in that pure worldip which the only true God required from them. We likewife fee that the Divine Being, in order to preferve among men a due respect for his Providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a fingular manner, and even among the Pagans themfelves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissolution of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

(u) Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes King of Bythinia. Who, after he had reduced his brother Zypetes by their assistance, and acquired the pos-

fession

fession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor, which took from them the denomination of Gallo Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people, and St. Jerom, above six hundred years after the time we now speak of, declared, that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those sew who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia; or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no further mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia and all Greece, with entire destruction.

(x) After the death of Softhenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the for of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Alia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne, but each of them railed great armies, and contracted powerful alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquest, and the other to disposses him. Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave fo powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would prefume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a

(x) A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. Memnon. apud Phot. c. xix.

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treaty was concerted, and in consequence Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable possession, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Faulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, in a sew years after, formed into a province of the empire.

(y) Antiochus having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus deseated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppressors. This action acquired him the title of Soter,

which fignifies a deliverer.

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SECT. IV. PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS causes the books of the holy scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language, as an ornament to his library. This is called the Version of the Septuagint.

THE tumult of the wars which divertity of interests had kindled among the successors of Alexander, throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were masters of a work which contained the laws of Moses, and the history of that people, was desirous of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design, it became necessary

(r) A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. (x) A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

ceffary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very confiderable number of Tews had been actually reduced to a state of slavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invalions of Judza in his time; and it was represented to the King, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he fuffered fuch a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely follicitous to enlarge his library, did not hefitate a moment, but iffued a decree for restoring all the Tewish slaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas \* a head to their masters, for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to four hundred talents; which make it evident that an hundred and twenty thoufand Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The King then gave orders for discharging the children born in flavery, with their mothers, and the fum employed for this purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiss, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem, with all imaginable honours, and the King's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentick copy of the Mosaick law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The King was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order

\* About ten shillings. + About fixty thousand pounds.

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to make a trial of their capacity. He was fatisfied with. their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and oaded them with prefents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isla of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without loting time, and in feventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version \*. The whole was afterwards read, and approved in the presence of the King, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent prefents; part of which were for themselves, others, for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very confiderable; never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristaus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds . number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have It is pretended, that the writers, whether lews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others; who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them: (a) Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the fense, or style in which they were couched, was fo far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every where

<sup>(</sup>a) Philo de vita Moss, 1. 2. p. 658.

It is called the Septuagint, for but the sacred books were translated the sake of the round number 70, by seventy-two persons.

the same even to a single word; from whence he coneludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters personmed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were persectly consorm-

able to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my refolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would, therefore, call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may confult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same which was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages cited by the sacred writers of the New Testament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found verbatim in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it also was by those in the primitive ages, among whom it paffed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which renders the scripture of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations of different languages and manners into one society, and the same worship and

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doctrines, by the instrumentality of the finest, most copious, and correct language that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECT. VII. The various expeditions of Pyrrhus:
First, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas.
Secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans; wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia; of which he makes himself master for some time, after he had everthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus.

(b) PYRRHUS, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a raging sever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually slying himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in sollowing, from country to country, a selicity no where to be sound. He therefore seised, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new affairs.

(c) The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes toward Epirus,

and

<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Paufan. l. r. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. (e) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

and dispatched ambassadors thither, not only from themfelves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only affembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of twenty thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm defire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving, from fo excellent a school, the solid principles, and best maxims of true politicks. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embaffies to feveral cities with whom he had negociations to transact: Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, that the eloquence of an enemy is no less prevalent than his sword. And Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could possibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for his person, conserred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels admitted to take place ...

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day difengaged from affairs, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent

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liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. Your Majesty intends (faid he) to march against the Romans; should the gods be so gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would you derive from your conquest? Were the Romans once subdued by my arms (replied Pyrrhus) all Italy would then be ours. Supposing ourselves masters of that country (continued Cineas) how should we proceed next? Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island. But will our expeditions (added Cineas) end with the conquest of Sicily? No, certainly (replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion) can we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprises? Carthage; with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, shall be part of our future conquests: And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves? Dispose of ourselves! We will live ut our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves. Ah! my Lord (interrupted Cineas) and what prevents us now from living at case, making of feasts, celebrating festivals, and enjoying all your Majesty has mentioned? Why should we go fo far in search of an happiness already in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble.

This discourse of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and shining outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy

the least repose, either by night or day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of his Thoughts; wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diversion or pastime. "The soul (says that

great

great man) discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there " afflicts her when the confiders it fedately. This " obliges her to have recourse to external enjoyments,

" that she may lose in them the remembrance of her " real state. In this oblivion consists her joy; and, to

" render her miserable, it suffices to oblige her to enter

" into, and converse with herfelf."

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection, by a variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks. "When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who " proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to " hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying the repose " in his power, without going in quest of it through " fuch a number of fatigues; he gave him a counsel that admitted of many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the defign of that ambitious " youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of being fatisfied with himfelf, and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void of his heart with " imaginary hopes, which is certainly false. Pyrrhus " could not be happy, either before, or after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of cale " recommended to him by his minister would have or proved less satisfactory to him, than the hurry of all

" the wars and expeditions he meditated." It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately dispatched Cineas to the Tarentines with a band of three thousand foot; soon after which a large number of flat-bottomed vessels, gallies, and all forts of transport-ships, arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board that fleet twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, two thousand archers,

and five hundred flingers.

All being ready, he fet fail; but as foon as he adwanced into the open sea, a wident tempest arose from north, which but th effectu a voya thips ' last a s beat fo that th did not himfel his frie the har pened t the way with a him; the wi was ca then c fultaine but his

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north, and drove him out of his courfe. The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed fo effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other thips were incapable of holding the fame courfe. last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the King's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not helitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to fave him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous burfting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to affift him; till at last, the King, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a confiderable part of the night, was cast the next morning on the shore, the wind being then confiderably abated. The long fatigue he had fultained, weakened him to fuch a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from finking under it.

In the mean time the Meffapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to two thousand men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a

body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely employed in pleasures, which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least prudence or interruption. And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus sought for them, they might

quietly continue in their own houses, folely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting, and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were fafe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the publick gardens, and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He also sufpended their feasts and publick shows, and was altogether as fevere upon the affemblies of news-mongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with very inexorable severity to those who failed in their duty. In consequence of which feveral, who had never been accustomed to fo rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleafures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the conful was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not fent him any fuccours at that time, yet as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hostilities, he dispatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would confent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans

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Romans were very near him, and encamped on the otler fide of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and :pproached the bank, to take a view of their fituation. When he faw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order observed universally, and the commodious fituation of their camp, he was altonished at what he faw; and addrefling himfelf to one of his friends who was then near him—Megacles (faid he) the disposition of these Barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether the rest will correspond with this appearance\*. And already anxious for the fuccess of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it fufficient, at that time, to polt a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the mai army with great precipitation; fo that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the relt of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As foon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing toward him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, he bore down all before him, he was attentive to the sunctions of a general; and amidst the greatest dangers was persectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace; and sprung from place to place, to Vol. VII.

<sup>\*</sup> The Greeks considered all other nations as Barbarians, and treated then accordingly.

re instate what was amis, and sustain those who suffered

most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of his troops, and sollowed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the King. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practifed before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself: which is an indispensible duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say, that each army gave way seven times, and as often

returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved satal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the King; and he was at last wounded by an horseman, who lest him upon the spot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried sull speed to Levinus the consul; and as he showed them to him, cried out aloud, That he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being born in triumph through all the ranks, silled the whole Roman army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian

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Pyrrhus who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the foldiers, making himfelf known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus faw the Romans broken by those animals, and that the horse, instead of approaching them, were so terrified, that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thellalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great flaughter of them.

Dionysius Halicarnassus writes, that near fifteen thoufand Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost thirteen thousand of his men. But other historians

make the lofs lefs on both fides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemies camp, which they had abandoned, brought over feveral cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him, after the battle, he feverely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated fo well disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, with-

out the affiftance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had fustained; and, instead of recalling Levinus, were folely intent on preparations for a fecond battle. This exalted turn of foul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprised, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He, therefore, thought it prudent to dispatch a fecond embassy, in order to found their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation, and in the mean time 1 2

Rome, had feveral conferences with the principal citizens, and fent prefents, in the name of the King, to them and their wives: but not one Roman would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, That when Rome had made a publick treaty with the King, it would be time enough to express his fatisfaction with

regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the fenate, he acquainted them with the propofals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace: and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been deseated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise reason to be apprehensive of many fatal events; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage in this conjuncture, feemed to, want the animating spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious fenator, whose great age and lofs of fight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from publick affairs. But when he understood, by the confused report which was then disperfed through the city, that the fenators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the affembly, which kept a profound filence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where faid he with 'a warmth of noble indignation) where is the fpirit that suggested the bold language you once " uttered,

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uttered, and whose accents rung through all the world; when you declared, that if the great Alexander him-" feli had invaded Italy, when we were young, and " our fathers in the vigour of their age, he would never " have gained the reputation of being invincible, but " have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either " by his flight or death! Is it possible then, that you " should now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the " guards of that Alexander, and who now wanders, " like a wretched adventurer from country to country, " to avoid the enemies he has at home, and who has " the infolence to promife you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to " fecure him a fmall tract of Macedonia!" He added many other things of the fame nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the fenators; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas:—That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy; after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might fend an embassy to follicit it: but that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Levinus.

It is faid, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negociate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wisdom and address, to inform himfelf of the manners and customs of the Romans; their publick as well as private conduct, with the form and constitution of their government; and that he was industrious to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republick. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the King a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings. A just and noble idea of that august body! and with respect to the numerous inhabitants who falled

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the streets, and all parts of the country, he added, I greatly fear we are fighting with an hydra. Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the first, and Rome had still an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies

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as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrthus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all the honours possible. The ambaffadors, at their audience, faid every thing necessary in the present conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the viciffitudes and inconstancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of finking the Roman fortitude, and confequently it could never be alarmed at any little difadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at worst, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ranfom for their foldiers who were then his prifoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

(d) Pyrrhus, after a confultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect: "Romans, it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I have taken from you, as you intend to employ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I proposed. If

" our mutual interest had been the subject of your at-

tention, you never would have had recourse to such

<sup>(</sup>d) Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744-748.

" evalions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable " treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and " my allies, and I promife to restore you all my pri-" foners, as well your citizens as your confederates, " without the ranfom you offer me. If you reject this " condition, it is in vain for you to imagine, that Par-" rhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great a

" number of foldiers."

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the sollowing manner: " As for you, Fabricius, I am fenfit le of your merit: I am likewise informed that you are " an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the " command of an army; that justice and temperance " are united in your character, and that you pass for a " person of consummaté virtue. But I am likewise as " certain of your poverty; and must confess, that for-" tune, in this particular alone, has treated you with " injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent " fenators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole de-" ficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and " filver as will raife you above the richest citizen of " Rome; being fully perfuaded, That no expence can be " more honourable to a prince than that which is em-" ployed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by " their powerty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; " and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can " possibly devote his treasures. At the same time, I must " desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact " any unjust or dishonourable service from you, as a " return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you but " what is perfectly confistent with your honour, and " what will add to your authority and importance in " your own country. Let me, therefore, conjure you " to affift me with your credit in the Roman senate, " which has hitherto affumed an air of too much in-" flexibility, with relation to the treaty I proposed, and " has never confulted the rules of moderation in any respect. Make them sensible, I intreat you, that I

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have given my folemn word to affift the Tarentines. and other Greeks who are fettled in this part of Italy; and that I cannot in honour abandon them on any account, and especially as I am now at the head of a potent army that has already gained me a battle. I must however acquaint you, that I am called by fome preffing affairs, to my own dominions; and this is the circumstance which makes me wish for peace with the greater follicitude. As to any other particulars, if my quality as a king causes me to be " fuspected by the senate, because a number of other princes have openly violated the faith of treaties and " alliances, without the least hesitation; become my " furety yourfelf on this occasion; affift me with your " counfels in all my proceedings, and command my " armies under me. I want a virtuous man, and a " faithful friend; and you as much need a prince, whole " liberalities may enable you to be more useful, and to " do more good to mankind. Let us, therefore, con-" fent to render mutual affiftance to each other, in all " the future conjunctures of our lives."

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments filence, replied to him in these terms. " It is needless for me to make any " mention of the experience I may possibly have in the " conduct of publick or private affairs, fince you have " been informed of that from others. With respect " also to my poverty you feem to be so well acquainted " with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure " you, I have no money to improve, nor any flaves from " whom I derive the least revenue: that my whole " fortune confilts in a house of no considerable appear-" ance; and in a little foot of ground that furnishes me. " with my support. But if you believe my poverty " renders my condition inferior to that of every other " Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties. " of an honest man, I am the less considered, because " I happen not to be of the number of the rich; permit

me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive of me,

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" is not just, and that whoever may have inspired you " with that opinion, or you only suppose so yourself, " you are deceived to entertain it. Though I do not polles riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I confider myfelf as a publick " or private person. Did my necessitous circumstances " ever induce my country to exclude me from those " glorious employments, that are the noblest objects of " the emulation of great fouls? I am invested with the " highest dignities, and fee myself placed at the head " of the most illustrious embassies. I assist also at the " most august assemblies, and even the most facred " functions of divine worship are confided to my care. "Whenever the most important affairs are the subject " of deliberation, I hold my rank in councils, and offer' " my opinion with as much freedom as another. I' " preferve a parity with the richest and most powerful" " persons in the republick, and if any circumstance " causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much " honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The " employments I discharge cost me nothing of mine, " no more than any other Roman. Rome never reduces " her citizens to a ruinous condition, by raifing them " to the magistracy. She gives all necessary stipplies to "those she employs in publick stations, and bestows" "them with liberality and magnificence. Rome, in " this particular, differs from many other cities, where " the public is extremely poor, and private perfons im-" mensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence as " long as the republic is fo, because we consider her " treasures as our own. The rich and poor are equally " admitted to her employments, as she judges them worthy of trust, and she knows no distinction " between her citizens but those of merit and virtue. " As to my particular affairs, I am fo far from repining " at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest of men-" when I compare myself with the rich, and find a " certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. " My little field, poor and infertile as it is, supplies me

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" with whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it at I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. "What can I want more? Every kind of food is " agreeable to my palate, when feafoned by hunger: I. " drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all the " fweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I content " myfelf with an habit that covers me from the rigours " of winter; and of all the various kinds of furniture " necessary for the same uses, the meanest is, in my " fense, the most commodious. I should be unreason-" able, unjust, should I complain of fortune, whilst she " supplies me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished me with " any; but then she has not formed me with the least " defire to enjoy them. Why should I then complain? " It is true, the want of this abundance renders me in-" capable of relieving the necessitous, which is the " only advantage the rich may be envied for enjoying. " But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, " fome portion of the little I possess, and render my " country all the fervices I am capable of performing; " in a word, when I discharge all the duties incumbent " on me, to the best of my ability, wherein can my " conscience condemn me? If riches had ever been the " least part of my ambition, I have so long been em-" ployed in the administration of the republick, that I " have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great " fums, and even by irreproachable methods. " any man defire one more favourable than that which " occurred to me a few years ago? The confular dignity " was conferred upon me, and I was fent against the " Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of " land, and defeated the enemy in feveral battles: we " took many flourishing and opulent cities by affault; "I enriched the whole army with their fpoils; I re-" turned every citizen the money he had contributed to " the expence of the war; and after I had received the .. honours of a triumph, I brought four hundred talents

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" into the publick treasury. After having neglected fo " considerable a booty, of which I had full power to " appropriate any part to myfelf; after having despised " fuch immense riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed " the spoils of the enemy to the love of glory, in imi-" tation of Valerius Publicola, and many other great " men, whose difinterested generosity of mind has raised " the glory of Rome to fo illustrious an height; would " it now become me to accept of the gold and filver " you offer me? What idea would the world entertain " of me? And what example should I set Rome's " citizens? How could I bear their reproaches? How " even their looks at my return? Those awful ma-" gistrates, our censors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would " they not compel me to be accountable, in the view of " all the world, for the presents you sollicit me to " accept? You shall keep then, if you please, your " riches to yourfelf, and I my poverty and my reputa-" tion."

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches, but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really persuaded, there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire \*.

(e) Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprize the Roman ambassador, who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converse with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the L6

(e) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

\* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majusque regno judicavit regias ppes posse contemnere. Senec. Epist. 229.

tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view, the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the lead of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprize or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, Neither your gold

yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, alter me.

Whilft they were fitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after fome conference on the affairs of Greece, and the feveral philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the doctrines of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his difciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and fovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the divinity, either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind; and that they configned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans!

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of erudition; for at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those table-conversations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are passed, without much expence of genius, in exclanations.

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Pyrrhus was struck with fo much admiration at the greatness of foul which he discovered in the Roman ambaffador, and was to charmed with his manners and his wisdom, that he became more impatient than everto contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him a fecond time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and confent to refide at his court, where he should hold the first rank. among all his friends and captains. I would not advise you to perfift in that request, replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear with a finile, and you feem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself.

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it, and would intrust the prisoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be fent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly fent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every

prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promife him a recompence proportionable to the fervice he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. bricius, who always retained the same probity and justice\*,

\* Ejusdem animi fuit, auro non bello innocentem; qui aliquod esse crederet etiam in hoste nesas; qui rati sumus ingentem virum, quem in summa paupertate, quam sibi vitias quam venenum. Senec. Epift. 120.

vinci, veneno non vincere. Admimissa slexissent; boni exempli tenatem; quod difficillimum est, in

even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them; and as he knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable, even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: and as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference therefore with his collegue Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

## CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS EMILIUS CONSULS;

KING PYRRHUS,

HEALTH.

YOU seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to as. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose entire considence in the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves, than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us; and would not have it imagined, that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour.

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true representation of the fact, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the conful without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise deputed Cineas to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would

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would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, were not averse to receiving the prifoners: they however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same sleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a second battle necessary, he attembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Asculum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides. and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks, as marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous fituation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous refistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself He, however, had disposed his elewas wounded. phants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in feveral quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies. fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both ides, and amounted to fifteen thousand men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp which was near the field of battle. The advantage therefore feemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, If we am such another, replied he, we are inevitably ruined. And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest offi-

cers.

cers, he was very fensible of his inability to bring another army into the field, against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war \*.

(f) While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to fee himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to difengage himself from an enterprize he had undertaken, too inconfiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with new resolution. A deputation was sent to. him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines into his possession; (g) and to implore the affiftance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several. couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom feemed to invite him to afcend to the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was deftitute of all hope, and now it flowed fo fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas, to treat with the cities, and gave them affurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrifon in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to fee themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his

troops.

When

(f) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. 1. p. 22. Justin. l. 18. 2. & l. 23. c. 3. (g) A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278. Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso c. 2. & l. 23. c. 3. Ducit opes animumque ferro. Horat,

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When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Softratus, \*, who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them, out of the public treasury, and about two hundred ships, which facilitated his conquest of all His infinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred fail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence: he also defeated in a great battle the inhabitants of Messina, who were called Mamertines +, and whose frequent irruptions infested all Sicily, and entirely demolished all their for-

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them, and the Greeks. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued feries of prosperity, and the numerous. forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplish-

<sup>\*</sup> He is called Sefistratus, by Dionysius Halicarnassus.

<sup>†</sup> The word signifies martial, masters of Messina, into which they because they were a very warlike had been received, they retained stoppe. They originally came from their own name there, though that lialy, and having made themselves of the city was not changed.

ing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that supply, he obliged the cities to surnish him with men, and severely punished those that neglected to

obey his orders.

In confequence of these proceedings, his power was foon changed into an infolent and tyrannical fway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and bestowed them upon his own creatures. (b) In contempt of the cultoms of that country, he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prefcribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary fentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose fole views were to enrich themselves by fordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profulion, and debauchery.

A conduct fo oppressive and different from that, by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were follicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important services he had rendered the King of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt

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(b) Dionyf. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571-

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\* Ut ad ictus habel wisitisque

him from fo cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus eized, but as he had fome suspicion of what was inended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them o their fovereign. The fame barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conluced most to the progress of his power in that island, endered him entirely odious and insupportable to the sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: his viforous conduct in the enterprises he undertook, facilitated is conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted rt to preserve them \*. The aversion which the cities onceived against him was so great, that some of them intered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new nurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received etters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be mpossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would natten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time, for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a slight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer

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As he was embarking at Syracuse, the Carthaginians tracked him in such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those barbarians, where he lost everal of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but spon his arrival there, he found a great body of Manertines, who had passed thither before him, to the number of near ten thousand men, and greatly incommoded

<sup>\*</sup>Ut ad devincenda regna inidus habebatur, ita devictis acunfunque celeriter carebat: tanto

\*Ut ad devincenda regna inmeliùs studebat acquirere imperia
quàm retinere. Justin. 1. 25. c. 4.

moded his march, by frequently harraffing his troops, and

making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

(i) Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus tell us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, confecrated to Proferpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by Itrangers, and no one had ever prefumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. (k) Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not fo scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ship. The next day, if history may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were loaded with these rich and facred spoils, were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, fays Livy, being convinced by this cruel difaster, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appealed by this involuntary reflitution; and the author who relates this event, reprefents this impious facrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprizes.

(1) Pyrrhus, after he had fuffered by this tempelt, arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped

in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a fecret refentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them, when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very sew of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was

(1) A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

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<sup>(</sup>i) Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. 1. i. p. 22. Justin. 1. 23. c. 3. (k) Liv. 1. 29. n. 18. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerp. p. 542.

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was there at that time, and to render him incapable of affifting his colleague: the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest, and of most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning as he was descending the mountains; and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into consultation, and obliged them to have recourse to slight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This fuccess emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their entrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he fent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants. to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions; which created fuch a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some lense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they difcovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with fuch an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery,

and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus, rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at tables,

but played them very ill.

(m) He at length returned to Epirus, with eight thoufand foot, and five hundred horse; but as his revenues were not fufficient for the subfiftence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a re-enforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without any difficulty, and had also seduced two thousand of Antigonus's foldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes; marched against Antigonus himself; attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into diforder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, couragiously sustained his efforts for fome time, and the encounter became very warm;

(m) Plut, in Pyrrh. p. 400. Paulan, 1. 1. c. 23. Justin, 1. 25. c. 3.

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warm; but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being furrounded by his troops, furrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he confecrated to the Itonian \* Minerva. Pyrrhus, King of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva, these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be furprised at this event. The descendants of Eacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant.

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Æge t, whose inhabitants he treated with great feverity, and garmoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as infatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took poffession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited They also carried off all the riches inclosed in there. thole monuments, and with facrilegious infolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly paifed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he had then upon his hands engaged his whole attention; or that his pressing occasion for the fervice

from Itonus, the son of Amphystyon, before us: the other was in Bactia, and she had two temples dedicated near Coronaa.

Minerva was called Itonia, the same with that in the passage

to ber, under this name; one in † A city of Macedonia, on the Thefaly, near Larissa, which was river Haliacmon.

fervice of these Barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an enquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents: so criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the esteem of the Macedonians.

(n) Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reasons to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprizes. Cleonymus the Spartan came to follicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two fons; Acrotates and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldeft, died before his father, and left a fon named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute with relation to the fovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter feemed to be a man of a violent and defpotick disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of King Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was publick, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once, on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Pe-

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(n) A. M. 3732. Ant. J. C. 272. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400-405. Paufan. l. 1. p. 23, 24, & l. 3. p. 168, Justin. l. 25. c. 4. his ball he a agai to the your fo to difci other

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reponness for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he attused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any considence in the language of politicians, with whom artisce and deceit pass for wisdom, and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon; which Cleonymus defired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of King Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots and friends of Cleonymus, were so consident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; sirmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are savourable and decisive moments which must be seised immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of fending their wives to Crete, but Vol. VII.

were opposed by them in that point: one among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they would consent to live after the destruction of

Sparta?

The same council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work: but, as the absence of their King, and the surprise with which they were then seised, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open sield, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, sunk in the earth up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by these means they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in slank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose, while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took in the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and nine hundred in

length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them, at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, and breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves

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worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the rest, she prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband,

if the city should happen to be taken.

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Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other fide of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be paffed, but the foldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a. good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, eafily gave way under them. When his fon Ptolemy faw this inconvenience, he drew out two thoufand Gauls, with a felect band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage for the rest of the troops. But these were ranged so thick, and sunk to fuch a depth in the earth, as rendered his defign impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to furmount this difficulty, by diffengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the first who faw the danger, and immediately shot through the city with three hundred foldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this fudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into diforder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men, and most of the women, flood on the other fide of the trench, and beheld with admiration, the undaunted bravery of Acrotates: As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women who extolled his valour,

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and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonida: an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal

chastity.

The battle was still hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much; particularly Phyllius, who, after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed, with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, he called to one of the officers who commanded at that post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement: but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians desended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour

to prevent their effecting that defign.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, and pushed forwards sull speed to the city. Those who defended this post, sent up loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of the city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and

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made him fo furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, re-

pulsed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

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, and made Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city before King Areus appeared with two thousand soot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two re-inforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds, he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from this design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

(o) Aristæas and Aristippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristæas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The King of Epirus, always fond of new motions, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his deseats furnished him with indispensable M 3

<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403-406. Paufan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xxv. c. 5.

reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristeas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians who formed his rearguard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and sted. The Lacedamonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his fon's death, which affected him with the sharpest forrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a flaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even furpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually fought Evalcus in the throng, and having at last fingled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger him-He then fprung from his horse, and made a terrible flaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This lofs of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those, who, after they had gained a complete victory, fuffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by purfuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

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Pyrrhus having thus celebrated the funeral folemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure, by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it.

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to intreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily confented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with suspenses.

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As foon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to feife it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidit the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and tent a deputation to Antigonus to press his speedy advance to their affiftance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

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In this very juncture of time, King Areus also arrived at Argos, with a thousand Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus haltened, on his part, to fustain them, but the darkness and confusion were then fo-great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little furprifed to fee the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was loft, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat.' But as he had some apprehensions with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he fent orders to his fon Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great hafte, having mifunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary meffage, in confequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to affift his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a fufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in a narrow street, which ended at the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased, by the arrival of the troops his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance. And to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that the troops could neither advance nor retire. The consusion occasioned by this accident became

then inexpressible.

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Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward, and were driven back, like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness of his horse, he sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him; and while he was sighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, where she stood with several other women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life by

cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcyonæus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rid away with it sull speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the sate of his grand-stather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

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The title of a great captain is jully due to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Romans themselves; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour, by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. (p) Livy reports, from an historian whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself in the third.

The fame general also characterised Pyrrhus, by adding,
That he was the first who taught the art of encamping; that no one was more skilful in choosing his
posts, and drawing up his troops; that he had a pe-

culiar art in conciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and this to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for

"their master, though a stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who, for so many years,

" had held the first rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not feveral Grecian kings and generals masters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learnt it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; and even proved ineffectual to him on feveral occasions. was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by his injudicious treatment of the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a varicty of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs. Is

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a common soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a personal action, which only shows strength and intrepidity, than a wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the general safety, and who never consounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the safe lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not also be said, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through temperament, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddness of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights errant of ro-

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But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprifes without the least maturity of thought, and abandoning himfelf, without examination, to the least appearances of fuccefs; frequently changing his views, on fuch flender occasions, as discover no consistency of defign, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued feries of uncertainty and variation; and while he fuffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed no where so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone M 6 are are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities, no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in their desence, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and security.

(q) The reputation of the Romans beginning now to foread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for fix years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus. (r) Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship; and the Romans were

charmed to find it follicited by fo great a king.

(s) An embassy was also fent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The difinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to prefent each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the head of the King's statues erected in the publick parts of the city. The King having likewise tendered them very confiderable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the fenate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the publick treasury, and made it evident, by fo noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they ferve the publick, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well

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<sup>(</sup>g) A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. (r) Liv. Epit. 1, iv. Eutrop. 1. ii. (s) A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. Epit. 1. iv. Eutrop. 1. ii. Val. Max. 1. iv. c. 3. Dion, in Excerpt.

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well of their duty. The republick, however, would not fuffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The fenate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the publick treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generofity and glory, and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonilts to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men, who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the publick good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to efteem and recompence merit in this manner? We may observe here, says an historian (t), three fine models fet before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the difinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECT. VIII. Athens besieged and taken by Antigonus. The just punishment inflicted on Sotades, a satyrick poet. The revolt of Magas from Philadelphus. The death of Philateres, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Theus. The wife measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magas and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. The revolt of the East against Antiochus. Peace restored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seemed, by losing their liberty, to have been also divested of that courage, and greatness of soul, by which

<sup>(1)</sup> Valerius Maximus.

which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta that was once fo bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign voke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestick tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and To formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into flavery, and, as the changes her matters, fucceffively paying them the homage of the bafest and most abject adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts, to re-instate themselves in their ancient liberties, but impetuously, and without fuccess.

(u) Antigonus Gonatas, King of Macedonia, became very powerful, some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece: the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the confequences that might refult from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy foon fent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, King of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army to fuccour that city by land. Patroclus, as foon as he arrived before the place, advised Arens to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to affault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of fuccess, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more adviseable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, failed back to Egypt, without doing

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<sup>(</sup>w) A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Justin. I. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 168, & in Attic. p. 1.

doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination nor good intelligence between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus,

who put a garrison into it.

(x) Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet univerfally decried for the unbounded licence both of his muse and his manners. His satyrick poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the facred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satyr against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arlinoe, his own fifter; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to fave himself from the referement of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his mafter in fuch an infolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the fea. The generality of poets, who profess fatyr, are a dangerous and deteltable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

(y) The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Mace-

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<sup>(</sup>x) A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621. (y) A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. Paulane in Att. p. 12, 13.

donian officer who was her hufband before the was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her sollicitations, therefore. obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government by long posfession, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, King of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition is a boundless passion, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards Alexandria made himself master of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the diforders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by four thousand Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seile it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they allperished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

(z) Magas, as foon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan: it was

(x) A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

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then refolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their desence; and Magas, who expected a diversion to be made in his savour by Antiochus, thought it not adviseable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

(a) Philateres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus. died the following year, at the age of fourfcore. was an eunuch, and originally a fervant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was soon followed by Philateres. Lyfimachus, finding him a person. of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and entrusted. him with the government of the city of Pergamus, inwhich his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus: very faithfully in this post for several years: but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lyfimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the. younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and the accordingly took measures to destroy him. Philateres, who was fentible of her intentions, relolved upon a: revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the posfession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened feven months after. He conducted his affairs with for much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the fuccessors of those two princes, that he preserved the

<sup>(</sup>a) A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Paulam. in Att. p. 13, & 18.

city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the elect, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two-years.

In this year began the first Punick war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the

Romans and the Carthaginians.

(b) Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the

Roman emperors refided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Philateres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seise his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his desence, and obtained such a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

(c) Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered \* one of his fons to be put to death, for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and lest him all his dominions. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, as I have formerly observed.

Antiochus

(b) A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Paufan. Eliac. I. p. 405. Eufeb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. 1. xxii. c. 9. Memn. c. xxi. Strab. 1. xiii. p. 624. (c) A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in Prologo. 1. xxvi.

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(d) Antiochus the fon, when he came to the crown, was espoused to Laodice, his fifter by the father. afterward affumed the furname of Theos, which fignifies God, and diffinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syrta, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him, to testify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only mafter of Egypt, but of Coelofyria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, -and Caria, in Asia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the feat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment, for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of God. With fuch impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages! (e) The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not fcruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

(f) Berosus, the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of four hundred and eighty years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berosus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the vanity of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold (g).

<sup>(</sup>d) A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyæn. Stratag. 1. viii. c. 50. Appian in Syriac. p. 230. Justin. 1. xxvii. c. 1. (e) Athen. 1. vii. p. 255. (f) Tatian. in Orat. con. Greec. p. 171. Plin. 1. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7. (g) Plin. 737.

in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercise. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate feveral passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession

of the kings of Babylon.

(h) Ptolemy being follicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the East; which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from thence, by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this last place by sea again, to the city of Tyre.. Elath and Rhinocorura were two fea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red-sea, and the second on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

(1) Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found as city on the western shore of the Red-sea, from whence the ships were to fet out. He accordingly built it, almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormes was preferred, as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were transported on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterwards exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red-sea lay cross the desarts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception

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<sup>(</sup>b) A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259. (i) Strab. xvii. p. 815. Pline 1. vi. c. 23.

tion of passengers, and to supply them and their beasts of

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As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them fufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffick between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red-sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. (k) This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common fize. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty-feven with feven; five with fix, and feventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to an hundred and twelve vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, befide a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all infults; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria as far as the Cyclades.

(1) Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt; and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

(m) Magas, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya, and Cyrenaica, for the space of fifty years. Toward the close of his days he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls

<sup>(</sup>k) Theocrit. Idyff. xvii. Athen. 1. v. p. 203. (l) A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258. (m) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. I. xii. p. 550. Jultin. I. xxvi. c. 3.

calls Arfinoe, refolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the fon of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view. fhe employed persons in Maccedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, affuring him, at the fame time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time, but as soon as Apamia beheld him, the contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raifed him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a refolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to fave him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was confummated, and Apamia was fent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

(n) The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to An-

tiochus, as will be evident in the fequel.

(a) Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he lest the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that

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<sup>(</sup>n) A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. Hieron. in Daniel. (o) A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 255. Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.

<sup>(</sup>p) A. 3754. Ar Syncell. P

that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either fide were not very confiderable.

(p) Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the samous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-sive talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

(q) While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great infurrection was fomented in the East, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of providing with the necessary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave

birth to the Parthian empire.

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(r) The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arfaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction, but great courage and honour, alsembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for fafety with feveral perfons whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which fuch a bold proceeding would inevitably expote Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arfaces soon found himself throng enough to drive the Macedonians out of that prowince, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians

<sup>(</sup>p) A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. (q) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. (r) Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. 1, xi. p. 515.

cellonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of Alexander; first, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly

under Antiochus.

(s) Much about the same time, Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and, from a governor, became king of that province; after which he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and \* M. Atilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome; that is to say, the sourteenth year of the first Punick war.

(t) The troubles and revolts in the East, made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the fecond. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though the was his fifter by the father's fide, and had brought him two fons: Ptolemy then embarked at Pelufium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were Solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her;

(s) Justin. & Strab. ibid. (t) A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. Historian Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. I. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

\* In all facts be is called C. Atilius.

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\* Tu cedonum morte A her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was defirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamities and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their

literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

(t) I will now show thee the truth. These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. And the fourth shall be far richer than they all: And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Greecia. The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

(u) And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the

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(x) And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken (by his death) and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: For his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those; namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander \* parcelled out into four great kingdoms; without including those foreign princes who

<sup>(</sup>t) Dan. xi. 2. (u) Ver. 3. (x) Ver. 4.

\*Tum maximum in terris Marcegna, dum ad se quisque opes rapicedonum regnum nomenque, inde unt lacerantes viribus. Liv. 1. xlv. morte Alexandri distractum in multa D. 9.

founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and

the marriage we have already mentioned.

(y) The king of the South shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; His dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times.

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged

in wars against the people of God.

(2) The king of the South shall be strong. This king of the South was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and the king of the North was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judæa, which has Syria to the

North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls the king of the South, and declares, that he shall be strong. The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history: for he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palæstine, Cœlosyria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; with the island of Cyprus; as also several isles in the Ægean sea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

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(a) The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four fuccellors to this empire, whom he calls Princes, or Governors. This was Seleucus Nicator, the king of the North; of whom he declares, that he should be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive; For this is the import of the prophet's expression, he shall be strong above him, and have dominion. It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia Minor, between Mount Taurus and the Ægean sea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

(b) Daniel then informs us, that the daughter of the king of the South came to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings. This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will show us the satal event of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each

prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity so visible in the scriptures, which have related, in so particular a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, N 2

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<sup>(</sup>a) Dan. chap. xi. ver. 6. (b) Ver. 6.

above three hundred years before they were transacted, What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment; by the breaking of any fingle link, the whole would be difconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted fo many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but this could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his facred will, and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind?

(c) As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures of excellent masters, as he also was in books; he faw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, which fuited his tafte exceedingly. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arlinoe was feifed with an indisposition, and dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was confecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was fent back, as soon as pollible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appeale her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was fo far from abating, that she died in a short time, 2nd

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<sup>(</sup>c) A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 284. Liban. Orat. xi.

and left Ptolemy inconfolable at her lofs; and more fo, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in removing the statue of Diana out of the temple.

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This passion for statues, pictures, and other excellent curiofities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses and temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiofities. But though a perfon should have no recourse to such base extremities, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth, and fortune, Sell me this picture, or that statue\*, fince it is, in effect, declaring, you are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession, which suits only a person of my rank and tafte. I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds t.

Though Arfinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he espoused her; he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory, after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

(d) Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her, at Alexandria,

<sup>(</sup>d) Plin. 1. xxxiv. c. 14. \* Superbum est & non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido; vende

dignitatis ista funt. Cic. orat. de Signis, n. 45.

<sup>+</sup> Etenim, qui modus est cupidimihi vasa cœlata. Hoc est enim tatis, idem est æstimationis. Difdicere: non es dignus tu, qui habeas ficile est enim finem facere pretio, quæ tam bene facta funt. Meæ nisi libidini seceris. Id. n. 14.

andria, with a dome rifing above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of that queen suspended in the air. plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of fufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this refolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been faid, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was fuspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpfe was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.

(e) Ptolemy Philadelphus furvived his beloved Arfinoe but a fhort time. He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the soft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the lofs of a confort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languithing disorder, which ended his days, in the fixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. (f) He left two fons and a daughter, whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last-mentioned queen of that name. His eldest fon, Ptolemy Evergetes, fucceeded him in the throne; the fecond bore the name of Lysimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

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<sup>(</sup>e) A. M. 3757. Ant. J 247. Athen. l. xii. p. 10. (f) Canon. Ptolem. Aftron.

SECT. IX. Character and qualities of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by desects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and esseminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that a remissness of this nature

is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generofity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praifes in some of his Idyllia. We have already feen his extraordinary tafte for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory, as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar talte for the sciences, but in such a manner, as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propenfity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected N<sub>4</sub>

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publick schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use that expression, the slower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men posses; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with

respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be confidered as the fource of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expences, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffick; that he opened a very long canal through defarts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two feas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety and freedom in his ports, without any impositions on trade, or the least intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded, that commerce wa, like some springs, that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural courfe.

These were views worthy of a great prince. and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of their first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches,

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and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the East and West by the mutual fupply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself Those great confrom age to age without interruption. querors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and defolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandifing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its fource, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the latest posterity.

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What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a relidence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native foil; is another glorious panegyrick on this prince; as the most effential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only fure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence was to multiply his fubjects, and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

N 5 CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS is poisoned by his queen SECT. I. LAODICE, who causes SELEUCUS CALINICUS to be declared king. She also destroys BERENICE and her son. PTOLEMY EVERGETES avenges their death, by that of LAODICE, and seises part of Asia. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX, and SELEUCUS his brother, unite against PTOLEMY. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son DE-METRIUS. The war between the two brothers, An-TIOCHUS and SELEUCUS. The death of EUMENES, king of Pergamus. ATTALUS succeeds him. establishment of the Parthian empire by ARSACES. ANTIOCHUS is flain by robbers. SELEUCUS is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of JOSEPH, the nephew of ONIAS, with PTOLEMY. The death of DEMETRIUS, king of Macedonia. ANTIGONUS Seises the throne of that prince. The death of SE-LEUCUS.

(g) A S foon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to fupplant her, by receiving Berenice again, refolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her fon. Her own children were difinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also Stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus should succeed to the throne, and she then had a fon. Laodice, therefore caused Antiochus to be poifoned; and when she saw him expiring, she placed in his bed a person, named Artemon, who very much refembled refer voice for, great recor lords which his which joyed feque had to where troops

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<sup>(</sup>g) A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. i. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

refembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had oecasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the sew visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Selencus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Selencus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that princess, being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator. But being at last betrayed by the persidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the

blackest and most inhuman manner.

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This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold with relation to this marriage. (b) The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: But he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times. I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer if he had even been a spectator of the acts he foretold?

N 6

What

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally fprung from Greece; and yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above three hundred years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and faw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He faw her conducted from Egypt to Syria in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was fensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for fecuring their fuccession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from afcending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herfelf was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and till then, had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed " and reverenced!" Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her missortune: in consequence of which they formed a consederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Evergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered inessectual, they immediately determined

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to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as fuccessful as he could defire in. the satisfaction of his just refentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her fon, who had made himfelf an accomplice in her barbarity, foon: alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris: and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a fedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have fubdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this fide of mount Taurus; and Xantippus was entrusted with those that lay beyond it; Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

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This prince carried off forty thousand \* talents of filver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and filver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols, that Cambyses, after his conquest of this kingdom, had fent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition: for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not fufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. lemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which fignifies a Benefactor, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristick of kings, whose solid greatness confilts in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects: and it were to be withed, that

that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more

worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. (i) But out of a branch of her root (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the North (Seleucus Callinicus) and shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver, and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land; namely, into that of Egypt.

(k) When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to confecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a facrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last faw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which the caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour to his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This confecrated hair being loft foon after by fome unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven, and he pointed out feven stars near the lion's tail, which till

then had never been part of any constellation; declaring,

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<sup>(</sup>i) Dan. xi. 7-9. (k) Hygini. Poet. Aftron. 1. ii. Nonnus in Hist. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren.

at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other altronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themfelves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the fame name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterward translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

(1) Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of facrifices to the God of Ifrael, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly

by his prophets.

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(m) Seleucus had been detained for fome time in his kingdom, by the apprehension of domestick troubles: but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he let fail with a confiderable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprise was, however, ineffectual; for, as foon as he advanced into the open fea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if heaven itself, says \* Justin, had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. of Asia which had revolted, through the horrour they

<sup>(1)</sup> Joseph. contr. Appian. l. ii. (m) A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245 Justin. L. xxvii. c. 2. \* Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished, and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

(n) This unexpected change having re-instated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were lest him when he escaped from the shipwrick at sea: as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal

viciflitude of fortune \*.

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his. interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still fublists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, were presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norsolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think

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<sup>(</sup>n) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

\* Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret. Justin.

<sup>\*</sup> Antioo quatuordeci regni avidus animo, qua fed, latron cripere cu

think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich univerfities in fuch a generous manner; and I with the fame zeal had been ever testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the facred persons of Kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal honour to the person who should

lay the foundation of fuch a work.

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Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promifed to invest with the fovereignty of the provinces. of Asia Minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age\*, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to fecure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to feife them for himfelf, His avidity was fo great, and he was always ready to feife for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the furname of t Hierax, which fignifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

(a) When Ptolemy received intelligence that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himfelf with the latter, and concluded. a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both these princes for his enemies at the same time.

Antigonus

virilemque fumit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quia, non tegni avidus, occasionem non tam pio hominis sed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam sectaretur. Justin. + A Kite.

<sup>(</sup>o) A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243. \* Antiochus, cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: led, latronis more, totum fratri cripere cupiens, puer sceleratam

(p) Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, at the age of eighty, or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. (q) Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus King of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wise, being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and em-

ployments.

This prince still continued his military preparations, as if he defigned to affift his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them\*; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. (r) Antiochus founded his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, as a compensation for affifting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then faw himfelf difengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops, on whose valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into

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<sup>(</sup>p) A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. (q) Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 1. (r) Justin. l. xxviii. c. 2. \* Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, implementus exhibuit.

into his pay, and they were undoubtedly fome of those who had fettled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action. had formed a refolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia. after the death of those two princes. Antiochus, therefore was obliged, for his own prefervation, to distribute

all the money of the army amongst them.

(s) Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being defirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their divition. imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master which he had before affumed, for that of their ally: and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with This treaty, however, did not prevent that people. Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in fuch a fudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all Asia Minor open to him.

(t) Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was fucceeded by Attalus, his coufin-german, who was the fon of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wife and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to affume the stile of fovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with

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<sup>(</sup>s) Justin. 1. xxvii. c. 3. (1) A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. 1. x. p. 445. Strab. l, xiii. p. 624. Valer. excerpt. ex Polyb.

his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the

third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus were seising the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arfaces were proceeding by their example in the East. (u) The latter hearing that Seleucus had been flain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had difmembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which, in process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying foon after, Arfaces made a league offenfive and defensive with his fon, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other, with the most implacable warmth, not confidering, that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the feveral overthrows and losses he had fustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia. (x) Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where he could possibly continue in fafety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was foon weary of entertaining a fon-in-law who became a burthen to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus, being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to the power of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust. a brother whom he had so highly offended. He, however, had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately

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mediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seised and imprisoned; (y) he also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtesan; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the missortune to be assalinated by a band of rebbers.

(z) Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the fweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all forts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them. (a) Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, fent to Athens for Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the fame country. (b) He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Memes or Mifraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the This catalogue contains a fuccession of Trojan war. thirty-eight kings, and is still to be feen in Syncellus.

(c) When Seleucus faw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-stablishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus, therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a

dishonourable

<sup>(</sup>μ) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. (α) A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239. (4) Suid. in voc. Ζινόδοτ . (b) Ibid. in voc. Άπολλώνιο & Έραπετέγης. (c) A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 236.

dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts

were incapable of reducing it.

(d) Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as foon as his affairs would admit: but this fecond expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arfaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many fucceeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they confidered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first æra of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppreffive government, if they had perfevered to fubmit to it. Arfaces now began to affume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who fucceeded Arfaces made it an indifpenfable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arfaces raifed himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Perlians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans\*. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, (e) That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whom soever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men.

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<sup>(</sup>d) A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin. 1. xli, c. 4 & 5.

<sup>(</sup>e) Dan. iv. 17.

\* Arsaces, quæsite simul constitutoque regno, non minus, memoramanis Romulus, Justin.
hilis [Parthis suit] quam- Persis

(f) Onias, the fovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to fend Ptolemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predeceffors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a teltimopial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The King fent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great fum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to fend a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was univerfally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he fet out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several confiderable persons of Coelosyria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his diffatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them, all the circumstances he could delire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without feeming to have any particular view in the curiofity he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him as he was returning from Memphis, with his queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who

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<sup>(</sup>f) A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3 & 4.

had received impressions in his favour from Athenion was extremely delighted at his prefence, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary effeem for the advocate who had fo effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He also ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at

his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt, offered no more than eight thousand talents for the provinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Upon which Joseph, who had discovered, in the convertation that palled between them in his prefence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well fatisfied to fee his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehenfive that the person who proffered so large a sum would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had fuch persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his Majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his fecurities to each other. king could not avoid fmiling at this little pleafantry, which put him into fo good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other fecurity than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual fatisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be fenfible,

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(g) A. Porphyr. Athen. p Greek lan that is t

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fentible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconfiderable indication of merit.

(g) King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a fon, named Philip, in an early state of minority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who, having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned

his being furnamed \* Doson.

(h) Five or fix years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for fome time had continued in a state of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had wo sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates King of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and was in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will, therefore, be necessary for me to represent the present state of those two republicks; and I shall begin with that of the

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(g) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euseb. (b) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Justin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

\* This name signifies in the mises to give, but never gives what Greek language, One who will give, be promises.

that is to fay, a person who pre-

SECT. II. The establishment of the republick of the Achæans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled, by the liberalities of Ptolemy Evergetes, to extinguish a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Trazene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not so successful with respect to Argos.

(i) THE republick of the Achæans was not confiderable at first, either for the number of its troops, the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotonians and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for the re-establishment of good order in the cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which substifted between them.

The government of this republick was democratical, that is to fay in the hands of the people. It likewise preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians who had made themselves masters of Greece,

or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve \* cities, all in Peloponnesus, but together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republick did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, amongst all her citizens, she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary

(i) Polyb. 1. viii. p. 125—130.
\* Thefe twelve cities were, Patræ, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Dyma, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

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nary change a fingle man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was folely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after him, to Casfander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatus, who lest them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

(k) Toward the beginning of the CXXIVth Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republick of the Achæans refumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyma laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republick anew: all affairs were decided by a publick council: the registers were committed to a common secretary: the affembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought adviseable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republick, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the publick good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

(1) Sicyon, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the O 2 government

<sup>(</sup>k) A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280. (1) Plut. in Arato, p. 1027-1031.

government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to feife the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: he also fearched for Aratus, the fon of Clinias, who was then but feven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's fifter. lady was naturally generous, and as the also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof, by the impulse of fome deity, the carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thencesorth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some

hospitable friends of his father's, at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was sollicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

(m) Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued

(m) A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

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his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to fecure himself a retreat, through fubterranean paffages, and when the people affembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that Aratus, the son of Clinias invited the citizens to refume their liberty. Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burnt it to alhes in a few moments; but not a fingle man was. killed or wounded on either fide; the good genius of Aratus not fuffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of five hundred.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconfiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports, nor any other maritime stations of security. But, with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did

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those Achæans (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the ancient power of Greece) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow citizens with the malignant breath of envy; thus, I say, did these Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored

freedom and fafety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, for the service of that state, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he discovered in the execution of their orders: for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, not-withstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on those occasions, and pay an exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

(n) The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his fentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the publick utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs: his expressions in discourse were always proper: his thoughts just; and even his filence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no hiperior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. had a wonderful facility in forming enterprifes against an enemy; in making his deligns impenetrable fecrets, and in

(n) Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

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in executing them happily by his patience and intrepi-It must, however, be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not feem to be the fame man at the head of an army: nothing could then be discovered in him but protraction, irrefolution, and timidity; whilit every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. that he really wanted courage and boldness, but hefe qualities feemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occalions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, fays Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the furprising diversity we frequently perceive in the fame perfons. On some occations they appear lively, heroick, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

(o) I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been configned to other persons, who afterwards fold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be re-instated in their former possessions, after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be re-imburfed, before they delivered up fuch houses and lands to the claimants. The pretentions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both lides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which feemed inevitable. 0 4

(o) A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut, in Arat. p. 1031-1038.

Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to fatisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy King of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on

the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings: Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of fuch performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preferved there in all its ancient purity. It is even faid, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sycion, where he frequented the schools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent (equal to a thousand crowns) not for acquiring a perfection in in the art from them, but in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had re-inflated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital disciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was inchanted with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine tatle of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he, therefore, thought he might take the liberty to implore the generofity of that prince, in the melancholy fituation difa He the with city for mai

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to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and presented him with a hundred and fifty talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the re-

mainder in separate payments.

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His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretenfions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wife politician, who is not. for engrossing the decision of all affairs to himself, is not. afraid of diminishing his reputation by admiting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours defigned him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the feveral purchasers all the fums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory purfues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels, to affift him in the determination of this important affair (and perfons of the greatest merit always entertain the fame diffidence of themselves) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by publick inscription, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

A fuccess so illustrious gave Antigonus jealous, and even sear; in consequence of which, at a publick entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extrordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him suspected to Ptolemy. He infinuated,

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in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having discovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he, therefore, was resolved to employ him in his affairs: he concluded this strain of artifice with intreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him in suture as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of ten thousand men to succour the Ecotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea\*, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

(p) Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the most illustrious en-

terprises of the Grecian leaders.

The Ishmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when surnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication by land and sea, from the inner part of the Ishmus, and renders the person who possesses it, with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel the shackles of Greece, and as it was capable of being

<sup>(</sup>p) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 224.

\* Philip, above forty years before victory over the Athenians and this event, had obtained a celebrated Thebans, near the same place.

being rendered such, it created jealousy in all the neighbouring states, and especially in kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seising it for their own use.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprise, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his

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Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that when he went to vifit his brother, who was a foldier of the garrison, he had observed a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the fummit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a finile, defired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large fum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this queltion, and promifed to found his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding, at the fame time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprise. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them fixty talents, if the affair should happen to fucceed; but as it became requifite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the fecurity of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither malter of fo many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of of giving suspicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterprise, he pledged all his gold and filver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a

fecurity for the promifed fum.

Aratus had fo great a foul, fays Plutarch, and fuch an ardour for great actions, that when he confidered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was follicitous to refine upon their generofity and difinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refufal of prefents, and a facrifice of a person's felf and fortune for the service of the publick. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring fo uncommon and furprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the fide of fo great a man, who paid fo dearly for fo extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other fecurity than the hopes of performing a noble action!

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the publick good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the rememberance of those great men who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient

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fufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all thele were at last furmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pals the night under arms. He then felected four hundred men, most of whom were unacquainted with the defign he intended to execute: they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehenfions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog role very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then feated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their afcent by the scaling-ladders, from which they would not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with feven refolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the centinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with a hundred of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and when they had all mounted the walls, he descended into the city with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded, by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they faw a fmall guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrowded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back into a line against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, sled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who slocked from all quarters by the

blaze of innumerable lights which were immediately fet up in the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with confused cries,

that were not to be distinguished.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks, which at first were very difficult of ascent, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his savour; the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The three hundred foldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard: but as the found was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those foldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of King Antigonus, having drawn out a confiderable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and passed by those three hundred men without perceiving them; but when he had advanced a fittle beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, ambi killir troop fuch who

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ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seised with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they

had all dispersed themselves in the city.

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This defeat was immediately fucceeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been fent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate The troops then defired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight filence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at last bad joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that foon difperfed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays faw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the fame time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, affilted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually fecured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achæans in two lines in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage completely armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of rest and the long staigue he had sustained.

fustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obsured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then rested upon it, with his body bent a little towards the audience, in which posture he continued for some time.

When the whole theatre was at last filent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewise delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty, but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for resusing to

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he seised twenty-five of the King's ships. He also took five hundred war-horses, and sour hundred Syrians, whom he afterwards sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison

of four hundred men.

quit the city.

An action so bold and successful as this, must undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded

to the Acharan league.

Aratas also brought Ptolemy, King of Egypt into the confederacy, by affigning the superintendency of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event acquired him so much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was, however,

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nowever, elected every other year, and he, either by his counfels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuation: for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches nor the friendship of kings, no, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other confideration whatever, had the least competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandifement of the Achæans. He was perfuaded, that all weak cities refemble those parts of the body which only thrive and exist by their mutual union; and must infallibly perish when once they are separated; as the fultenance by which they fubfift will be discontinued from that moment. Cities foon fink into ruin, when the focial bands which connect them are once diffolved; but they are always feen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are affociated by an unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy fource of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

(q) All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of their laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprises of Antigonus Gonatas, during the

life of that prince.

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(r) He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius, who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years. The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achaen league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them. (s) The Achaens, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their

<sup>(7)</sup> Polyb. I. ii. p. 130. (r) A. M. 3762 Ant. J. C. 242. Polyb. I. ii. p. 91—101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760. (s) A. M. 3770. Ant. J. C. 234.

their affiltance, by which means a strict union was reestablished between them, and became very advantageous

to all the neighbouring cities.

(t) Illyrium was then governed by feveral petty kings, who fublisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the fon of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, fo called from a city of Illyrium, subject to him, were the petty princes who infelted all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. (u) Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young fon, named Pinæus. These people, harrassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good fervices were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, foon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garrison, into their city.

(x) The Romans were fo offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they fent an embasly to Teuta, to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, in revenge for so outrageous an infult. The two confuls, L. Posthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, fet out with a commission to invade Illyrium by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the conful Fulvius the garrifon they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had re-instated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but configned feveral cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous

conduct in their favour.

(y) Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement

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<sup>(</sup>t) A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. (u) A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228. (x) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. (y) A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

ment to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been subordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned

none but that princefs.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They also sent ambassadours to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also dispatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a publick decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their solemn mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens; others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed their example; and he procured several advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent their con-

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(2) Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to restore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education

<sup>(2)</sup> Plut. in Arat. p. 1038-1041.

education he had received there; and he also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achæan league, as highly advantageous to the common cause: but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domeflicks; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Ariftippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seised the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that ufurpation, even with the consent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the affistance of king Antigonus Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared affaffins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and fincere affection of those they govern: for when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, fays he, who maintained fuch a body of troops for the fecurity of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his foul was the feat of terrour and anxiety, that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes, which entirely furrounded that structure. He drove away all his domesticks the moment

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moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and flept, as we may suppose a man to fleep in his condition, whose foul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terrour, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former fituation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in publick with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: and whereas all those who possess fortrefles, and maintain guards, with the additional precautions of arms, gates, and traps, as fo many ramparts for their fafety, feldom escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always showed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which fublists, fays Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world \*.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary refolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unfeasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus, and above sisteen hundred of his men, lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of restoring liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristomachus, had thrown a body of the kings's troops into

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<sup>\*</sup> Polycrates, to whom Plutarch by whom the race was still continued, addresses the life of Aratus, was one three hundred and sifty years after of his descendants, and had two sons, the death of Aratus.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysiades had usurped the supreme This person had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had feifed the fovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined infeparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to fuch a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in feveral enterprises which seemed necessary at that juncture, and, among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his umost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a fecond time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was obferved to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue fo folid and fincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plaufible outfide, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will for the future, have a confiderable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition

of that people in this place.

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SECT. III. AGIS king of Sparta attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus; in which he partly succeeds: but finds an entire change in Sparta, at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus against the Etolians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

(a) WHEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, floth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches, and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

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Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the fixteenth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the samily of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who deseated Mardonius in the battle of Plater

I have already related the divisions, which arose in Sparta between Cleonymus \* and Areus, in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedamon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotates, who reigned seven or eight years, and lest a young son named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

(a) Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

\* Josephus relates, that Areus Lacedæmonians. The original of ling of Lacedæmon sent letters to this relation is not easily to be disting the high-priest of the Jews, tinguished, nor is it less difficult to which he acknowledged an affireconcile the time of Areus with that the between that people and the of Onias.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perveited by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had resided for several years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus: he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government sounded on moderation and

justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches\*, and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those enfnaring pleafures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the fplendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the ancient form of publick meals, baths, and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, That he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta. These noble fentiments were a demonstration, that Agis had formed a folid judgment of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wife laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as

\* Plutarch informs us, that his gold and silver than all the other mother Agesistrate, and his grand- Lacedæmonians together. mother Archidamia, possessed more which pended which flitution every own them fapped tades, himfel pleafed

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he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, fulpended, in some measure, the ill effects of those abuses which then prevailed. But as foon as this prudent inflitution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony, in his own life-time, or to make a teltamentary donation of them to whom he pleased; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. tades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had dis-

pleafed him. It is indeed supprising, that a whole state should so eafily be induced to change fuch an ancient and funda-

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mental custom as this, merely to gratify the passion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their feveral families; fince it was not then possessed of any motives for filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domeltick inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard all good order in families, created strong impreshons in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniencies, which would inevitably refult from this change, and whose pernicious effects

would be foon felt by the state. This proceeding is fufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws \*, on which balis a state, or community, has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniencies, from which the wifest institutions cannot be exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration Vol. VII.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Adeo nihil motum ex anti- quæ usus evidentur arguit, sari quo probabile est; veteribus, nin malunt. Liv. l. xxxiy, n. 54.

into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by the new law, which authorised the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs to whom they belonged; in consequence of which, all patrimonial possessing were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; the poverty, which then prevailed through the whole city, sunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguishing those ardours for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by insusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about feven hundred; and not many more than an hundred of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a starving populace, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they suf-

tained.

(a) Such was the state of Sparta when Agis entertained the design of redressing the abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprise was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had

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had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and Reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with a passion for riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expence to himself, by

changing the form of government.

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Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the fifter of Agelilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs: when Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation, on the first ideas it prefented to her mind, and employed all the arguments she could invent to disfuade him from it; but when Agefilaus joined his own reflexions with those of the king, and had made his own fifter comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of fuch a defign, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her fex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their fentiments, and were so affected with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as foon as possible. They likewise lent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deserence to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestick assairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obstruction to the designs

P 2

of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly foreseeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an afcendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in diffuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were defirous of this change, he could not prefume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself with crossing his designs by in-He had a private conference with the direct measures. magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in confequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only railing a body of guards for the fecurity of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lysander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these. I. All the debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into four thousand five hundred lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be comprehended in fifteen thousand lots. 4. The last portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands, which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be referred for the Spartans, whose due number, which out of as had were the field for the four halls, of what four halls, of the far the fa

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was then confiderably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people, and strangers, as had received an honest and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifty halls, distinguished by the name of *Phidicies*; the least of which should contain two hundred, and the largest four hundred: And, lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed by the fenators whose fentiments differed from those of Agis, Lyfander caused the people to be affembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the publick welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them. Particularly the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and their posterity, to preferve those facred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which the had funk, ever fince they had been difregarded by her: He then fet forth the the miferable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty fovereigns by fea and land, who once could make the Great King \* tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their cities and houses by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence; which might be confidered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by these means, they were exposed to the infult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with intreating them not to be fo far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them under 3

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<sup>\*</sup> This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost, but that they would recall to their remembrance those ancient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would

prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the affembly, and declared, after a concife difcourse (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter) that he was determined to deliver up for the common welfare, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable; consisting of large tracts of arable and patture lands, beside six hundred talents of current money \*; and that his mother and grandfather, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince aftonished all the people, who, at the fame time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the malk, and opposed him to the utmost of his power: for as he knew it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the fame offer they had heard from Agis, to he was fenfible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the fame obligations to him as they were to his colleague, who when each of their estates should be appropriated to the publick, would engross all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always consi-"Where do you find then (redered him as fuch. " torted Leonidas) that Lycurgus ever ordained an " abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to

"ftrangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm

" persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered,

\* Equal to fix bundred thousand French crowns.

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quency nidas, "That he was not furprifed that fuch a person as " Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign coun-" tries, and had married into the house of a Persian " grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, " as not to know that he had fwept away all actual and " possible debts, by banishing gold and filver from the " city. That, with respect to strangers, his precautions " were intended against none but those who could not " accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline " he had established: that these were the only persons " he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against " their persons, but from a mere apprehension, that " their method of life, and corruption of manners, " might infenfibly infpire the Spartans with the love " of luxury and foftness, and an immoderate passion for " riches."

He then produced feveral examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Ly-

curgus had established.

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This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and intreated him not to abandon them: they likewife addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all propofals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their follicitations were fo effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices: upon which Lyfander, who still continued in his employment, imenediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which "each descendant from Her-" cules was prohibited from espousing any foreign " woman; and which made it death for any Spartan to " fettle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the fame time, to affift in the profecution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva called *Chalcioicos*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus separated herself from her husband, and became a supplicant for her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he resused to render obedience in that particular, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lyfander quitted his employment about the close of these transactions, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him, and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lyfander and Mandroclides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them, when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs, when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonstrance, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for releasing the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: but not one person was killed on this occasion; and when Agis even knew that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assalinated, in his retreat to Tegæa, he ordered him to be safely

conducted thither by a fufficient guard.

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When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terrour which then prevailed, it was fuddenly obstructed by Agelilaus had one of the largest and best a fingle man. estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had not inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, it would be easy for them to ac-The specious turn of complish the partition of lands. this reasoning ensured Agis, and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Agelilaus: in consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the feveral creditors, and carried into the publick place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to ashes. As foon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agefilaus cried with an infulting air, That he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before.

The people, immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and sound out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories

of the Megareans in Peloponnefus.

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Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already affembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon the receipt

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of his letters, immediately fent Agis to their affishance. This prince fet out with all possible expedition, and the foldiers testified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumstances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to fee these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder: and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely furprifed, and made the following reflection: What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedamon, when they were commanded by Agefilaus, Lyfander, or the ancient Leonidas; as they even discover at this time so much awe and respect for their general, though younger

than any soldier in his camp! Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviseable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himfelf was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whose affistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with fo much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his difinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his wife view for the publick good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion; wherein

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<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. in Agid. p.

he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more adviseable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that conjuncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for

Sparta with his troops.

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(b) The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction, and in their march seised the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately difperfed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not fuffer fo favourable an opportunity to escape him. He then ceased to be the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with those he then had against the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory: he attacked them in the very place they had fo lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having loft feven hundred men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently suffered into the highest applauses and panegyrick.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he also effectually negociated an offensive and defensive league, between the two

nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

(c) Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the state of affairs. Agestlaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly,

<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. in Arat. p. 1041. (c) A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Plut. in Agid. p. 802-804.

merly, and enitrely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice. When he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most publick manner from Tegæa, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Agefilaus faved himfelf by the affiftance of his fon, who was univerfally beloved; and the two kings took fanctuary; Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas feemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of foldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for affuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in fo ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued feated in a profound filence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his consusion. His wife Chelonida stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate, as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of those capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the fame time became a supplicant for him with her father.

All those who were then present, melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonida, and the amiable force

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Leon friends, quit Sp continua fuch a of her effectuateat, fl

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force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, Believe me, O my father, faid she, this habit of woe which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my contenance, and these forrows into which you see me funk, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus; but the sad remains of my affliction for the calamities you have fuffained, in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve? While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your dagger? Should he be unable to difarm your refentment, and move your foul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to affure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourfelf, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband? What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her nearest relations! Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that Ipoke her forrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

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ole ce Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His follicitations, were, however, ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and

clasped

clasped the other in her own; and, when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle; and how worthy the admiratron of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely deprayed by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to enfnare Agis; and began with perfuading him to quit the afylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he affured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the infinuations of Agefilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and perfifted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plaufible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcefilaus, who had frequently vitited the young prince, continued their affiduities to him, and fometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in fafety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no longer continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the King, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable, than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas: and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple

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temple to the bath, they refolved to take that opportunity to furprife him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets, through which they palled, turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares feifed Agis with an air of authority, and cried, Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour. At the same instant Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pulled him forward, as they had previously agreed, and as no person came to affift him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their defign, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the fame time with a great number of foreign foldiers, and furrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for fuch of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republick. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lysander and Agefilaus had not compelled him to have recourfe to those measures? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a fincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that The fame officer then demanding legislator had left it. of him, if he repented of that proceeding? The young prince answered with an air of steadiness, That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrours. His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the publick officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those, on whom the fentence of condemnation had passed, were

ufually strangled.

When Demochares faw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign foldiers turned their eyes from wich a spectacle of horrour, and refused to be affistant at so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who, by this time, were informed of the manner in which he had been feifed, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and intreating the people that the King of Sparta might at least have an opportunity to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to hasten the execution of Agis, left he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for affembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and faid, Weep not for me, my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me. When he had faid these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the least air

of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragick scene, the first object he beheld was the defolate mother of Agis, who threw herfelf at his feet: he raised her from the earth, and affured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; intreating her, at the same time, as a proof of his fincerity, to enter the prison, and see her Ion.

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She then defired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. Your request (faid he) is reasonable; and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the doer to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to feife Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his. fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess was obliged to obey him, and the moment she came into that difinal place, the beheld her fon lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord Itill twifted about her neck. She affilted the executioners in difengaging her parent from that instrument of cruelty, after which she laid the corpfe by her fon, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was completed, the cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after the had tenderly kiffed his cold lips, O my fon (faid she) the excels of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himfelf with a savage air to the mother of Agis, Since you knew (said he) and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment. Agesistrata arose at those words, and running to the satal cord, May this (cried she) at least be useful to Sparta.

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature united in the circumstances.

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which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the King included and surpassed them all: so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people for the sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

(d) Agis having been deftroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in feifing his brother Archidamus, who faved himfelf by flight; but he fecured Agiatis, the confort of that unhappy king, forcing her to refide in his own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when fhe at last was obliged to confent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, the always retained a mortal avertion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmost complacency and foftness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most fincere and passionate efteem and affection for her; and even sympathised with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard the expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

(d) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

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SECT. IV. CLEOMENES afcends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achaens, over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus and the Achaens. Aratus applies for succour to Anti-Gonus king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achaens obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy.

LEOMENES had a noble foul, and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but had not that excessive sweetness of disposition, attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had insufed into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed so amiable to him, as the government of his citizens agreeably to their own inclinations; but, at the same time, he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to the publick utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from a view of private interest.

He was far from being fatisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the King himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected publick affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the publick good, every individual being solely intent upon his particular interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the publick expence. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

(s) Plut. in Cleom. p. 805-811.

young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself, in a very successful manner, to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citian\*. The stoick philosophy, which he then professed, was exceedingly proper to insuse courage and noble sentiments in the mind; but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

(f) After the death of Leonidas, who did not long furvive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his for Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He then grew sollicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that sew persons were disposed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasions of complaint against them.

Aratus, from the first moments of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that is he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, who had espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began

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to harrass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man

without the least experience.

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When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the confideration of the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very fevere reproaches from his own troops, and tharp raillery from the enemy, whose troops did not amount to five thousand men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he affumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who faid, That the Lacedamonians never enquired after the numbers of their enemies, but subere they were. He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a fecond encounter; but Aratus taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinæa, and before the enemy could have any fuspicion of his design, made himen all lelf mafter of that city, and put a garrifon into it. that if

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was deicended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestible right to the crown; and Cleomenes was perfuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would

enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to affailinate

his brother Archidamus \*.

Cleomenes, foon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lyfiades was flain, in confequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulfed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young King, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then imparted his delign to a small number of select and faithful friends, who ferved him in a very feafonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march fo as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a fet of persons who had been chosen for that action, entered the hall with their drawn fwords, and killed four of these magistrates t, with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agefilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himfelf; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was fufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of fourfcore citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of publick refort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the feats of the Ephori, except one, where he determined to place himself, in order to render justice; and after he had convoked an affembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had purfued; reprefenting to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even in causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice; and menacing those who were most desirous of beholding Sparta in the most excellent

\* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be affassinated, 1. v. p. 383. & 1. viii. p. 511. + This magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

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excellent and most divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her element and reputation

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When he had expressed himself in this manner, he immediately configned his whole estate to the people as their common property, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. affigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promifed to recall them as foon as affairs could be fettled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised four thoufand foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the cultom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconick discipline, wherein the philosopher Spherus was very assistant to him. The exercises and publick meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house at one time.

Cleomenes,

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were perfuaded he would not prefume to quit Sparia, amidst the diffatisfactions occasioned by the novelties he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them fee how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable To these ravages he added infults, causing publick games and shows to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the fight of the enemy; not that he had any real fatisfaction in fuch a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how much he affured himself of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute proceedings, the youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with sine and delicate railleries, which were always modest and never rendered offensive by injurious resections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wife legislator of Sparta had been careful to

regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse, as his example in leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, so much as they detested

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their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almost without officers: the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire: he gave all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consist.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truely No musick was ever introduced there; nor did any one defire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing fongs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches, and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought, and fincerity of manners, always prevailed, was confidered by him as a truely royal quality.

(g) This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardour for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had sled from his enemy, and abandoned all their slat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the

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<sup>(</sup>g) A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harraffed them perpetually with fo much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number

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(h) The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achaeans feverely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his veffel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have feifed it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of feveral great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been folely follicitous to fave the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have fubmitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the affiftance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event: jealoufy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

(i) The Achæans being reduced to the last extremities, and especially after the loss of the first battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negociate a peace. The King seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards dispatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on that condition to accom-

(b) Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem, in Arat. p. 10446

(i) A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227.

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modate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on those terms, defired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general affembly, in order to The King fet out, accordingly for conclude the treaty. that place, but an unexpected accident, which happened to him, prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in fuch a manner as to hinder the negociation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very dishonourable in him to fuffer a young man to graft himself upon him, and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented, and retained for fo many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to disfuade the Achæans from the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find himself incapable of conciliating them with this view, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon fuccess of Cleomenes, and likewise thought the Lacedæmonians were very reasonable in their intentions to reftore Peloponnesus to its ancient state, he had recourse to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. His design was to call in the affiltance of Antigonus King of Macedonia, and by inevitable confequence make him mafter of Greece.

(k) He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be diffatisfied with his former proceedings: but he was fensible that princes may be properly faid to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their fentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He. however, would not openly enter into a negociation of this nature, nor propose it as from himself; because he knew that if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and besides, it would

would be making a plain declaration to the Achaans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not advise them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He, therefore, concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and fecret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themselves sufficient sufferers by the war, as the Achæans were fo far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the affistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately affented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they defired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers of that proposal, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly infisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the King himfelf would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of those two states should have those advantages over the Achæans, which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be fatisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to feife, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætolians should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and should have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his affiftance;

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but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove averse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then intreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himfels. They also took care to infinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him, in due time, sufficient security for his own fidelity and

good intentions.

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Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and feifed with pleafure the opportunity that was now offered him, for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the fuccessors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into monarchy. They were fenfible that it nearly concerned them to oppose all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and whereever they found themselves in no condition to extinguish these, they attempted to weaken them at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any confiderable enterprises, by fowing the feeds of division between republicks and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. (1) Polybius, speaking of one of these princes, declares in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty \*.

It cannot, therefore, be thought furprising, that Antigonus should prove so tractable to the sollicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negociation, and immediately dispatched the same deputies to the general assembly of

<sup>(1)</sup> Lib. ii. p. 131.
\* Δημήτει Το που αυτοίς (μενάρχοις) δεινεί χερηγόρ η μεθεδότες.

the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to prefs them to put their

interests immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private for the masterly stroke by which he had succeeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was willing to guard against the imputation of those measures, and for having them seem to have been concerted by the Achæans with-

out any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the affembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be prefent as foon as possible in their assembly; and every one feemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the voluntary goodness of the king in the strongest light, and commended the fentiments that prevailed in the affembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republick to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing fo, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded, that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the prefent war.

(m) The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them; for Cleomenes made himself master of several cities

(m) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut, in Arat, p. 1047. A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

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cities \* of Peloponnesus, of which Argos was the most confiderable, and at last seised Corinth, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their affiftance, and they came to a resolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of strength, and there was none which fuited him so effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous fituation between two leas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost impregnable. Aratus fent his fon to Antigonus among the other hostages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of twenty thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. Aratus set out by sea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of diffinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes instead of attempting to defend the passage of the Isthmus, thought it more adviseable to throw up trenches, and raise strong walls to fortify the passes of the Onian mountains +, and to harrafs the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with fuch well-disciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the King of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities, for he had not provided himself with any confiderable quantity of provisions, and found it not very practicable to force the passes defended by Cleomenes: the only expedient, therefore, to which Antigonus could have recourfe in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence transport his army by fea to Sycion, which would require a confiderable space of time, as well as great preparations, which

could not easily be made.

\* Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phi- tains which extended from the rocks onte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as Træzene. far as Bæotia, and mount Citheron.

"t These were a ridge of moun- Strab. I. viii.

(n) While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night by sea, and informed him, that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having likewise received fifteen hundred men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at

Epidaurus.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with two thousand men, to succour his party at Argos as foon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, affored them, that the diforders, which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a flight commotion, excited by a few mutinous persons, which would eafily be suppressed. In this however he was deceived, for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as foon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrifon was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been fent from those troops to demand immediate affiftance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the fiege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he, therefore, thought it adviseable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, foon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and fecured it to himfelf with a good garrifon. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos, before the revolters had any fuspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies troops to save themselves by slight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and King Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired

to Mantinea.

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During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his comput Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to abfent minfelf a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most fuccessful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta, where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his forrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the

management of publick affairs.

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Much about the fame time, Ptolemy, who had promifed to affilt him in the war, fent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could prefume to acquaint his parent with the King of Egypt's demand, and though he frequently went to vilit her, with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the fubject. His mother observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause: for mothers have usually a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. See enquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her fon did not defire fomething thom her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her; How, my son (said the with a simile) is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction!

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Crateficlea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered

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There she held him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender slow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his anguith at that melancholy parting; King of Lacedamon (said she) let us dry our tears, that no person, when we quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God. When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot

to fail that moment from the port.

As foon as the arrived at Egypt, the was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embaffy from Antigonus was fatisfied with the propofals made by that prince; and the had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was follicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the confent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she fent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to fuffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might fuftain from Ptolemy. Such were the fentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

(a) Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himfelf master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised five hundred talents (about one hundred

<sup>(</sup>e) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. \$15-817. Id. in Aratos p. 1048.

twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) and armed two thousand of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very confiderable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for furprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had fent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the King of Sparta justly supposed, that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any infult from an enemy fo weak as himfelf; and, confequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his defign, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any affiftance. The event fucceeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of purfuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes out of a generolity of mind which has few examples in history, fent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the saith they had sworn to their allies. The samous Philopæmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to

mention in the fequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of foul, and such a noble cast of thought, from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the luftre of its victories

was loft in the fplendour of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the foldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and fent all the statues and pictures to his own city. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who confidered their inability to affift fuch faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people were foon fenfible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or fending an embaffy without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They had abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer facrifices and libations, and exhibit publick games in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus fet up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprised the

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the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the intreaties of this general could not prevail upon the King to defift from fuch a proceeding. The fight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master of affairs, and fuffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus also took the city of Mantinea, and when he had most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and fold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meannefs to call this new inhabited city \* by the name of him who had shown himself its most cruel enemy. A fad, and, at the fame time, a falutary example, which shows that when once a person has confented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

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Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republick with fhackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality, nor any shining action, can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealoufy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the fuperiority that young prince had obtained over him by the fuccess of his arms, were insupportable What, fays Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the fole preliminary of the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that with a view to complete the welfare of their cities, and fecure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for fo fignal an honour, and fo glorious a title? If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were confidered as

\* Antigonia.

fuch; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of sa-

tisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not feem to submit to Cleomenes, nor confent that a King of Sparta defcended from Hercules, and a king who had lately reestablished the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnefus with those very Macedonians whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell proftrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious mafters. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and fervile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer facrifices to Antigonus, and placed himself at the head of a proceffion crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the fame time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to fink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a flow confumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shown himself to be an extraordinary person, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we fee a deplorable instance of human frailty; which, amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities could not form the plan of a virtue exempt from blame.

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(p) We have already observed, that Antigonus had fent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of fpring, formed an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the refult of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and fagacity. As he was fensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an rruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waste. He conceived, at the same time, that if Antigonus should be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, affembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone prefied the king either to give their enemies battle, or relign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himselt. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had fo much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his itation, did not confift in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly, and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refuled to take the field, and perfitted in his resolution not to fight. omenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confess that he was an

excellent

<sup>(</sup>p) Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never fufficiently admire his manner of oppoling the forces of a fingle city to the whole power of the Maccedonians, united with that of Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they confidered that he had not only preferved Laconia free from all infults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of foul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented him from re-instating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the fequel.

SECT. V. The celebrated battle of Selasia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires into Egypt. Antigonus makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Evergetes, to whose throne Ptolemy Philopator succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of those princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossius.

(q) THE Macedonians and Achæans having quitted their quarters in the fummer feason, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than twenty thousand men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes,

. (q) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

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by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selafia. He imagined, and with good reason too, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, polled his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the fame time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry, and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, faw all the passes fortified, and was fenfible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into fuch an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for feveral days, in order to view the fituation of the different posts, and found the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he feemed to be forming defigns, which kept the enemy in suspence how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the fituation of each army equally fecured them from infults. At last both fides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one third, but were secure of a free communication in their rear, with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied

with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which

was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed feems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but sound it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the fignals were given on each fide, Antigonus detached a body of troops, confisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions, alternately disposed, against those of the enemy posted on mount Eva. His second line confifted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of thefe, two thousand Achæans were drawn up as a body of referve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by a thousand of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians, and the light armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line; and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front:

The action began at mount Eva, when the light armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the remotest cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and

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and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher fituation, at the fame time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who affaulted them with the utmost impetuolity. poemen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular fignal should be given. Philopæmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to fuch of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not to much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as a chimæra. Philopæmen was not diverted from his purpose by that usage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great llaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being difengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force confisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and

bore down all before it.

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my, and In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active to have met the phalanx. He might easily have attacked those troops as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harrassed them on every side. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into consusion,

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and breaking their order of battle; he might also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner, as to have easily

put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself, that victory would infallibly attend his arms: he imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep declivity: but as he had not referved for his own forces a fufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in fuch a manner, as obliged him to fight on the fummit of the mountain, where they could not long fustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were foon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopæmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republick would be decided by this battle. Philopæmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he sought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal,

nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign foldiers, of whom each of them had about five thousand. As this action was performed in the fight of each sovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in fignalizing

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fignalizing themselves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he faw his brother defeated, and his cavalry losing ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it adviseable to level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having founded a fignal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the tract between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and The action was very hot. One while began the charge. the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these, in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuofity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived, fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than two hundred Lacedæmonians escaped out of fix thousand.

It may justly be faid, that Antigonus derived his fuccess, in some measure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopæmen. His bold resolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with so few sorces as those of his own troops, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general deseat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse, not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to

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all other considerations. Had the general been prefent, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a fingle moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeafure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the fignal, contrary to the orders he had iffued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himfelf but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgreffed his commands in that manner: That young man, faid Antigonus, in feifing the occasion, behaved like a great

general, but you the general like a young man.

Sparta, on this difaster, showed that ancient steadiness and intrepidity, which feemed to have fomething of a favage air, and had diffinguished her citizens on all occasions. No married woman was seen to mourn for the lofs of her hufband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from facrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the publick calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus; affuring them, at the fame time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor fit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a

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A Spartan, having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy confequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would fustain by crouching in a fervile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia, for the liberty of Sparta. You are deceived, cried Cleomenes, if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause: Say rather, that such an action is mean and pufillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the evasion of an action, ought to be an action itself \*, since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have necourse to death, if such should be then our inclination.

(r) Cleomenes had scarce set sail, before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose slight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glo-

rious

(r) A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb: 1. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions. Plut. in Lycurg. P. 57.

<sup>\*</sup> The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless or inactive, with respect to the publick;

all other considerations. Had the general been prefent, he himself would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a fingle moment, might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeafure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the fignal, contrary to the orders he had iffued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himfelf but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgreffed his commands in that manner: That young man, faid Antigonus, in feifing the occasion, behaved like a great

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rious to his memory, to have it faid by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had faved that city, by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow, and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of re-instating his city in her ancient splendour, and original authority, which were incapable of fubfifting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then refumed her former courfe, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta funk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly faid, that the bold views and enterprifes of Cleomenes were the last strug-

gles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days fooner, Cleomenes might have been faved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a fevere indisposition, which at last ended in a confumption and total defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He however would not fuffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was faid, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was fo transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, O the glorious happy battle! And that he uttered this exclamation with so much ardour, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this fymptom was fucceeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he fettled the fuccession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen

fourteen years of age; or it may be rather faid, that he returned him the scepter, which had only been deposited in his hand.

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Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable fense, and shewn in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only folicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorfe for his neglect of fo great a man, and for his having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raifed his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. (r) The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated affurances that he would fend him into Greece with fuch a fleet and a fupply of money, as with his other good offices should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly. pension of twenty-four talents (about twenty thousand pounds sterling) with which he supported himself and his friends, with the utmost frugality, referving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. (s) Ptolemy however died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; (1) for the generality of his fuccessors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal Vol. VII.

<sup>(</sup>r) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. (s) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. (s) Strabo, 1. 17. p. 796.

care \* to extend his dominions to the South, from conc'uding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian, as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straits +, which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his

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fon Ptolemy, firnamed Philopater.

(u) Some time before this period, Rhodes suffered very confiderable damages from a great earthquake: The walls of the city, with the arfenals, and the narrow paffes in the haven, where the ships of that island were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The lofs fuftained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, fent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, fignalized themfelves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above a hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public place; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other those of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themselves. Ptolemy, beside his other expences, which amounted to a very confiderable fum, supplied that people with three hundred talents, a million of bushels of corn, and a fufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beside

<sup>(</sup>u) A. M 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. 1. 5. p. 428, 431. 
\* Monum. Adulit. † Straits of Babelmandel.

beside an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with three thoufand talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, fignalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons emulated each other in sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady whose name was Chryseis \*, and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance an hundred thousand bushels of corn. Let the princes of these times, says Polybius, who imagine they have done gloriously in giving four or five thousand crowns, only confider how inferior their generofity is to that we have now described. Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Coloffus was a brazen statue of a prodigious fize, as I have formerly observed; and some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. (x) This people, instead of employing the sums they had received in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preferve that money for other purpofes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground, for the space of eight hundred ninety-four years; at the expiration of which (that is to fay, in the fix hundred and fifty-third year of our Lord) Moawias \*, the fixth Caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himfelf master of Rhodes, and fold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution

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(x) Strab. 1. 14. p. 652.

<sup>\*</sup> Chryseis signifies golden. + Zonar. sub regno Constantis Impe-

diminution the statue had fustained by rust, and very probably by thest, amounted to more than thirty-six thoufand pounds sterling, or seven thousand two hundred quintals...

## END OF VOL. VII.



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